



METALWORK  
*from the*  
HELLENIZED EAST

---

CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTIONS

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM



VISIT...

LANZAROTE  
*Caliente*.COM

METALWORK  
*from the*  
HELLENIZED EAST

*This page intentionally left blank*



METALWORK  
*from the*  
HELLENIZED EAST

---

CATALOGUE OF THE COLLECTIONS

*Michael Pfrommer*

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM  
MALIBU, CALIFORNIA

1993

© 1993 J. Paul Getty Museum  
17985 Pacific Coast Highway  
Malibu, California 90265-5799  
(310) 459-7611

Mailing address:

P. O. Box 2112  
Santa Monica, California 90407-2112

Christopher Hudson, Publisher  
Cynthia Newman Bohn, Managing Editor  
Deenie Yudell, Design Manager  
Karen Schmidt, Production Manager

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA:

Pfrommer, Michael.

Metalwork from the Hellenized East : catalogue of the  
collections, the J. Paul Getty Museum / Michael Pfrommer.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-89236-218-9

1. Art metal-work, Hellenistic—Catalogs. 2. Art metal-work—  
California—Malibu—Catalogs. 3. J. Paul Getty Museum—Catalogs.  
I. J. Paul Getty Museum. II. Title.

NK6407.3.P46 1993

730'.0938'07479493—dc20

92-34053  
CIP

Project staff:

Brian MacDonald, Manuscript Editor  
Jean-Claude Muller, Designer  
Elizabeth Burke Kahn, Production Coordinator  
Ellen Rosenbery, Photographs  
Martha Breen and Tim Seymour, Drawings

Typography by Wilsted & Taylor, Oakland, California  
Printed by Nissha Printing Co., Ltd., Kyoto, Japan

Cover: *Stag Rhyton*. 86.AM.753 (no. 74)

# CONTENTS

|                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| FOREWORD                                            | vii |
| PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS                         | ix  |
| ABBREVIATIONS                                       | xi  |
| SELEUCIDS, PARTHIANS, KUSHANS, AND THE GETTY SILVER | i   |
| TREASURE I                                          | 5   |
| ORNAMENTAL HORSE TRAPPINGS                          | 5   |
| SILVER BUST OF A WOMAN                              | 20  |
| DECORATED VESSELS                                   | 21  |
| UNDECORATED VESSELS                                 | 43  |
| JEWELRY                                             | 44  |
| TREASURE I: SUMMARY                                 | 45  |
| TREASURES II AND III                                | 47  |
| LION RHYTON AND RELATED RHYTA                       | 47  |
| OTHER VESSELS IN TREASURE II                        | 50  |
| TREASURE II: SUMMARY                                | 51  |
| NET PATTERN BOWL                                    | 51  |
| TREASURE IV                                         | 54  |
| LEAF CALYX CUP                                      | 54  |
| LEAF CALYX BOWL                                     | 55  |
| HEMISPHERICAL CUP, KETTLE, AND SHALLOW BOWL         | 57  |
| GOLD CUP                                            | 58  |
| INDO-SCYTHIAN JEWELRY                               | 58  |



|                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------|-----|
| CAMEL RIDER                              | 63  |
| BLOSSOM                                  | 63  |
| HARNESS ORNAMENTS                        | 63  |
| TREASURE IV: SUMMARY                     | 64  |
| MEDALLION BOWL WITH DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE | 64  |
| BULL'S HEAD CUP                          | 66  |
| NOTES                                    | 69  |
| CATALOGUE                                | 101 |
| NOTE TO THE READER                       | 101 |
| COLOR PLATES                             | 102 |
| TREASURE I                               | 110 |
| TREASURE II                              | 178 |
| TREASURE III                             | 186 |
| RELATED RHYTA WITHOUT CONTEXTS           | 190 |
| TREASURE IV                              | 194 |
| BOWL                                     | 218 |
| CUP                                      | 220 |
| PROFILES                                 | 223 |
| INDEX                                    | 235 |
| CHART OF FLOWER TYPES                    | 244 |

## FOREWORD

The Museum's impressive collection of Hellenistic silver has been formed in hardly more than a decade. A large number of bowls and cups with inscribed and gilded design were bought in 1981. In addition there were agate pendants and silver phalerae and prometopidia, used to decorate the reins and bridles of horses, and jewelry, mainly torques and bangles, among the first acquisitions. To this material, which remains the core of the collection, were added silver cups and several hundred gold appliqués, buttons, and buckles in 1982 and 1983.

Shortly after he published a series of articles on early Hellenistic and late Classical ornament, Michael Pfrommer visited the Museum in 1983 to work on a group of Roman silver vessels and to see the collection of silver and gold. He soon began to study the collection in earnest. When we were offered eight additional silver and gilt vessels in 1986, his advice about the importance of these objects helped us decide to acquire them. Among these are the most spectacular objects in the collection, including the gilt silver rhyton in the shape of a stag and the two parcel-gilt rhyta in the form of lynxes.

We are indebted to Michael Pfrommer for the six years of work leading to this catalogue. He has been steadfast in seeing it through to completion and patient as the collection grew along with the catalogue. I am grateful to Charles Passela and Ellen Rosenbery of the Photo Services Department, who made all the photographs of the Museum's objects for this catalogue; to Brian MacDonald, who edited the text; to Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, and the members of her department, who aided Dr. Pfrommer in many ways; and especially to Kenneth Hamma, Associate Curator of Antiquities, who oversaw the completion of the catalogue and shepherded it through to a finished book.

John Walsh  
*Director*

*This page intentionally left blank*

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although this catalogue was undertaken at the suggestion of Jiří Frel, the project would not have been possible without the unstinting support of Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, who not only provided me with all the necessary facilities during my numerous visits to Malibu but also contributed advice concerning the text and the catalogue entries. I am deeply indebted to her and to the Museum for entrusting to me the publication of such an important part of the collection—a generosity with few parallels.

I am especially obliged to all present and former staff members of the Department of Antiquities. I should like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude for all the assistance and friendship I enjoyed over the years. The support of the staff, even at the busiest of times, will always remain a lasting impression. My thanks go especially to Karen Manchester and Ken Hamma for help and various suggestions concerning the scope and contents of the project.

I should also like to thank Karol Wight and Ellen Rosenbery, who contributed endless hours to preparing the extensive photographic documentation of the Getty pieces, as well as Renate Dolin, Carol Elkins, Marit Jentoft-Nilsen, and Sandra Morgan.

For the translation of my text concerning treasures I and II, I am especially grateful to Melanie Richter-Bernberg. I would also like to acknowledge my debt to R. Degen of the University of Munich, who provided the crucial translations of the Aramaic inscriptions on some of the vessels, and to Jerry Podany, Conservator of Antiquities at the Getty Museum, and David Scott of the Getty Conservation Institute, who completed the technical analysis of the silver.

Along with the Department of Antiquities, the Department of Publications made possible several visits to Malibu, thus providing the means to incorporate new acquisitions and to study relevant material in other American collections. Both Chris Hudson, Head of Publications, and Andrea Belloli, Consulting Editor, were supportive in this regard. I owe special thanks to Cynthia Newman Bohn, Managing Editor, for her patient correction of my English. Others whose assistance is appreciated include Brian MacDonald, who copyedited the manuscript, and Elizabeth Burke Kahn, whose attention to detail has been invaluable during the production process. For the inkings of my pencil drawings I am particularly obliged to Martha Breen (treasures I and IV) and Tim Seymour (treasures II and III).

For permission to reproduce works from their collections and for providing photographs, I should like to thank the following institutions: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; the British Museum, London; the Brooklyn Museum, New York; the German Archaeological Institute, Rome and Istanbul; the Hermitage, St. Petersburg; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Musée du Louvre, Paris; Museo Archeologico, Naples; Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; the Pilkington Glass Museum, St. Helens, Lancashire; Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich; and the Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio.

The preparation of this catalogue was also greatly supported by Edmund Buchner, former president of the German Archaeological Institute, and by the late Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, director of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul. Moreover, I am indebted to many colleagues who contributed help and suggestions over the years. I should like to mention especially: D. v. Bothmer, I. M. Burgoyne, P. Calmeyer, J. E. Curtis, M. E. Dürr, L. Giuliani, K. Gödecken-Weber, A. Houghton, V. Heermann-Trömel, E. Künzl, K. T. Luckner, R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, K. Parlasca, W. Schiele, and C. Weber-Lehmann.

Michael Pfrommer

# ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise noted below, abbreviations of book and journal titles follow the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

|                              |                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Adriani (1967)               | A. Adriani, "Un vetro dorato alessandrino dal Caucaso," <i>BSRAA</i> 42 (1967), pp. 105–127, pls. 1–8                          |
| Altheim-Stiehl               | F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, <i>Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum</i> (Berlin, 1970)                                            |
| Artamonow, <i>Goldschatz</i> | M. Artamonow, <i>Goldschatz der Skythen in der Eremitage</i> (Prague, 1970)                                                    |
| Barnett (1968)               | R. D. Barnett, "The Art of Bactria and the Treasure of the Oxus," <i>IrAnt</i> 8 (1968), pp. 34–53, pls. 2–14                  |
| Bothmer (1984)               | D. v. Bothmer, "A Greek and Roman Treasury," <i>BMAA</i> 42, no. 1 (1984), pp. 1–72                                            |
| Bunker, "Animal Style"       | E. C. Bunker, C. B. Chatwin, and A. R. Farkas, "Animal Style" in <i>Art from East to West</i> (New York, 1970)                 |
| Callaghan (1980)             | P. J. Callaghan, "The Trefoil Style and Second-Century Hadra Vases," <i>BSA</i> 75 (1980), pp. 33–47                           |
| Colledge, <i>Parthians</i>   | M. A. R. Colledge, <i>The Parthians</i> (London, 1967)                                                                         |
| CR                           | <i>Comptes-Rendus de la Commission Impériale Archéologique, St. Pétersbourg</i> (St. Petersburg, 1859–88)                      |
| Curtis, <i>Jewelry</i>       | C. Densmore Curtis, <i>Jewelry and Gold Work</i> , Sardis, vol. 13, pt. 1 (Rome, 1925)                                         |
| Dalton, <i>Treasure</i>      | O. M. Dalton, <i>The Treasure of the Oxus</i> , 3rd ed., (London and Oxford, 1964)                                             |
| Diehl, <i>Hydria</i>         | E. Diehl, <i>Die Hydria</i> (Mainz, 1964)                                                                                      |
| Dittrich, <i>Tierkampf</i>   | E. Dittrich, <i>Das Motiv des Tierkampfes in der altchinesischen Kunst</i> , Asiatische Forschungen, vol. 13 (Wiesbaden, 1963) |
| Droysen, <i>Heiligtum</i>    | H. Droysen, in R. Bohn, <i>Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros</i> , <i>AvP</i> , vol. 2 (Berlin, 1885)                 |
| Dura                         | <i>The Excavations at Dura Europos</i> (London and New Haven, 1943–)                                                           |

|                                               |                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ebert, <i>RV</i>                              | M. Ebert, <i>Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte</i> (Berlin, 1924–32)                                                                                            |
| Ghirshman, <i>Iran</i>                        | R. Ghirshman, <i>Iran: Parther und Sasaniden</i> (Munich, 1962)                                                                                             |
| Greifenhagen, <i>Schmuckarbeiten</i> , vol. 1 | A. Greifenhagen, <i>Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall</i> , vol. 1, <i>Fundgruppen</i> (Berlin, 1970)                                                           |
| Hallade, <i>Indien</i>                        | M. Hallade, <i>Gandhara: Begegnung zwischen Orient und Okzident</i> (Munich, 1968)                                                                          |
| Harper (1987)                                 | P. O. Harper, "Parthian and Sasanian Silverware: Questions of Continuity and Innovation," <i>Mesopotamia</i> 22 (1987), pp. 341–355                         |
| Lukonin, <i>Persien</i>                       | W. G. Lukonin, <i>Persien</i> , vol. 2, <i>Archaeologia Mundi</i> (Geneva, 1967)                                                                            |
| Marshall, <i>Taxila</i>                       | J. Marshall, <i>Taxila</i> , vols. 1–3 (1951; reprint, New Delhi, 1975)                                                                                     |
| Masson-Pugacenkova                            | M. E. Masson and A. Pugacenkova, <i>The Parthian Rhytons of Nisa</i> , Monografie di Mesopotamia, vol. 1 (Florence, 1982)                                   |
| MDAFA                                         | Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (Paris)                                                                                    |
| Minns, <i>Scythians</i>                       | E. H. Minns, <i>Scythians and Greeks</i> (Cambridge, 1913)                                                                                                  |
| Oliver, <i>Silver</i>                         | A. Oliver, Jr., <i>Silver for the Gods</i> , exh. cat., Toledo Museum of Art (Toledo, 1977)                                                                 |
| Pfrommer (1982)                               | M. Pfrommer, "Großgriechischer und mittellitalischer Einfluß in der Rankenornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit," <i>JdI</i> 97 (1982), pp. 119–190           |
| Pfrommer, <i>Studien</i>                      | M. Pfrommer, <i>Studien zu alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit</i> , Archäologische Forschungen, vol. 16 (Berlin, 1987) |
| Pfrommer, <i>Goldschmuck</i>                  | M. Pfrommer, <i>Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks</i> , Istanbuler Forschungen, vol. 37 (Tübingen, 1989)            |
| Pope, <i>Survey</i>                           | A. U. Pope, ed., <i>A Survey of Persian Art</i> , vol. 1 (London and New York, 1938)                                                                        |



|                              |                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Reinach, <i>ABC</i>          | S. Reinach, <i>Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien</i> (Paris, 1892)                                                                                                            |
| Reinsberg, <i>Toreutik</i>   | C. Reinsberg, <i>Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik</i> (Hildesheim, 1980)                                                                                                 |
| Rosenfield, <i>Kushans</i>   | J. M. Rosenfield, <i>The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans</i> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967)                                                                                   |
| Rostovtzeff, <i>Iranians</i> | M. Rostovtzeff, <i>Iranians and Greeks in South Russia</i> (Oxford, 1922)                                                                                                    |
| Rostovtzeff, <i>GWHW</i>     | M. Rostovtzeff, <i>Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der hellenistischen Welt</i> (Darmstadt, 1955)                                                                   |
| Rostowzew, <i>Skythien</i>   | M. Rostowzew, <i>Skythien und der Bosphorus</i> , vol. 1 (Berlin, 1931)                                                                                                      |
| Rudenko (1958)               | S. I. Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of the Northern Nomads," <i>Artibus Asiae</i> 21 (1958), pp. 101-122, pls. 1-5 |
| Rudenko, <i>Sammlung</i>     | S. I. Rudenko, <i>Die sibirische Sammlung Peters I</i> , vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1966)                                                                        |
| Rudenko, <i>Noin Ula</i>     | S. I. Rudenko, <i>Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu und die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula</i> , <i>Antiquitas</i> , 3rd series, vol. 7 (Bonn, 1969)                                        |
| Rudenko, <i>Tombs</i>        | S. I. Rudenko, <i>Frozen Tombs of Siberia</i> (London, 1970)                                                                                                                 |
| Sarianidi, <i>Bactria</i>    | V. Sarianidi, <i>The Golden Hoard of Bactria</i> (New York and Leningrad, 1985)                                                                                              |
| Smirnov, <i>Serebro</i>      | J. I. Smirnov, <i>Vostochnoe Serebro</i> , <i>L'argenterie orientale</i> (St. Petersburg, 1909)                                                                              |
| Spizyn (1909)                | A. Spizyn, "Falar'i Juzoj Rossii," <i>Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologiceskoi Komissii</i> (St. Petersburg) 29 (1909), pp. 18-53                                            |
| Tarn, <i>Greeks</i>          | W. W. Tarn, <i>The Greeks in Bactria and India</i> (Cambridge, 1951)                                                                                                         |
| Trever, <i>Pamjatniki</i>    | K. V. Trever, <i>Pamjatniki greko-baktrijskogo iskusstva</i> (Leningrad and Moscow, 1940)                                                                                    |

## SELEUCIDS, PARTHIANS, KUSHANS, AND THE GETTY SILVER

BETWEEN 335 B.C. AND HIS UNTIMELY DEATH IN Babylon in the year 323 Alexander the Great had conquered an empire that stretched from India to the Mediterranean and from Bactria in central Asia to Egypt. Apart from his native Macedonia and Greece, the empire consisted primarily of the legacy of the collapsed Achaemenid Empire. Decades of struggles between Alexander's former generals and high-ranking officers followed the founder's death; eventually, the old empire was split up among several Macedonian dynasties. The Ptolemies held Egypt, the Antigonids Macedonia and parts of Greece. The Seleucids finally controlled an enormous realm, which extended from Asia Minor and Syria to the borders of India. Although the Hellenistic world had settled down considerably, the fragile balance of power caused wars time and again, especially between the Seleucids and the house of the Ptolemies, who fought no less than six "Syrian Wars" over the span of a single century. In the middle of the third century B.C. the third Syrian War, between Seleucus II and Ptolemy III, caused such extensive weakening of the Seleucid position in Iran and the adjacent northern provinces that the Bactrian territories broke away and established the independent Graeco-Bactrian Empire as a separate kingdom. Even Antiochos the Great had to recognize this secession in his Asian campaign of 212–205, when two years of siege of the capital Bactra had proven of no avail. The breakaway of the Greek- and Macedonian-dominated Bactrian realm was, however, not nearly as damaging to the Iranian position of the Seleucids as the emergence of a nomad-controlled empire southeast of the Caspian Sea. Taking advantage of the constant absorption of the Seleucid kings in the West, nomadic or seminomadic peoples, possibly the "Parni" of the ancient sources, who had formerly settled on the steppes north of the Oxus, invaded the old satrapy of Parthia around 238 and only a few years later successfully extended their impact on the neighboring province of Hyrcania on the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea.

In the period following, the invaders became known as Parthians. After several unsuccessful attempts to regain control over the Parthian sphere of influence, the Seleucids were eventually forced to accept the status quo and to leave the invaders in the possession of Parthia and Hyrcania. In exchange the Parthians had only

to formally recognize the sovereignty of the Seleucids. Consequently, in contrast to the Bactrian kings, the first two generations of Parthian rulers never seem to have proclaimed themselves kings. This situation changed completely, however, in 171 B.C., when the throne passed over to Mithridates I, who emerged as the real founder of Parthia as a major power. He not only seized former Seleucid Iran, but added Mesopotamia to the Parthian Empire. The new Parthian lords controlled a realm that combined influences from different cultures. Besides the old local Iranian nobility, who kept alive pre-Hellenistic Achaemenid traditions, a strong Greek element was present, especially it seems in the cities, which were controlled by the descendants of Greek and Macedonian settlers who had flooded into Mesopotamia and Iran in the days of Alexander and the Seleucid power. The Greek minority was regarded benevolently by the Parthian kings, as evidenced in the phrase *philhellenos* "friend of the Greeks," on Parthian coins. The new lords, stemming from the southern central Asian steppes, could not match Iran or the Hellenistic world in cultural achievements. Ancient sources describe them as horsemen, a description that is consistent with their nomadic or seminomadic origins. Although they were in effect an ancient superpower, the culture of the early Parthians is in some respects almost unknown.

While the Parthian Empire asserted itself successfully and decisively against Seleucid sovereignty, the Greek- or Macedonian-dominated Graeco-Bactrian kingdom in what today is northern Afghanistan, Tadzhikistan, and the eastern part of Uzbekistan (and later even Pakistan) maintained its independence and in the early second century even extended its power to the western borders of India. This conquest caused the foundation of the Indo-Greek states, a Hellenized world that survived for some time even the eventual collapse of Greek Bactria under the onslaught of a new wave of nomadic invaders from the southern central Asian steppes in the latter half of the second century B.C. In the later years of the first century B.C., the Indo-Greeks came partly under the rule of the so-called Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, the latter establishing only an ephemeral interregnum before all power was taken over by the nomadic Indo-Scythian tribes and their dynasties, whose ancestors had already been responsible for the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian

world in the second century B.C. Coming out of southern central Asia, the Indo-Scythians share their origin more or less with the Parthians, who had invaded Hellenistic Iran over a century earlier. Their precise ethnic affiliations are an open question, but the nomad-controlled realms in Bactria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and western India must be considered forerunners of the later empire of the Kushans, which was, some generations later, to unite once again the Bactrian and the Afghan-Pakistani regions. Without entering into a discussion about the dating of the Kushan Empire, on which topic the author is hardly competent, one can state that the absolute chronology of its beginning is controversial, with suggested dates ranging between the first and third centuries A.D. In view of the nomadic central Asian ancestors of these dynasties and their forerunners, the similarities between the tombs and treasures of the late first century B.C. and of the following first century of the Christian era in Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan and the so-called Siberian gold from the central Asian steppes are hardly surprising. However, the relationship between some finds in these tombs and material from Taxila in Pakistan demonstrates the strong connection of these nomad-dominated dynasties in the period in question to the ruling nobility in Pakistan.

In 1981 and 1986, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired four large treasures of silver bowls, jewelry, and horse trappings that shed light on some aspects of early Parthian and Indo-Scythian culture. Treasures I, II, and III belong to the Parthian sphere, whereas the fourth complex represents the nomadic kingdoms in what was once Greek Bactria and the Afghan-Pakistani regions. Although none of these treasures has any recorded provenance, in the case of the first three the archaeological evidence points to Iran as their place of origin. Only treasures II and III can be considered units in the archaeological sense of the word. Treasures I and IV, in all probability, are modern collectors' treasures, assembled only in the art market.

Although art-market sources claimed that treasures II and III have a common but unrevealed provenance, we are far from certain that this view can be vindicated beyond doubt. As the archaeological analysis will demonstrate, however, the two groups could already have formed units in ancient times. The vessels are almost contemporaneous—first century B.C.—and could therefore have been used at the same time. It is possible that the silver formed the tableware of a nobleman and was buried as a grave gift after his death. As an alternative, we could interpret the extraordinarily rich

assemblage as a hoard that was buried when its owner was facing a sudden danger and never revealed. Furthermore, it can be ascertained almost beyond doubt that at least two vessels from treasure II were actually found together (nos. 66, 68). Some of the bowls represent the traditions of different ateliers in the Hellenized East, but unless it can be proven otherwise, it seems justified to publish treasures II and III as archaeological units.

In the case of the first treasure, we are dealing with a somewhat different situation. From an archaeological viewpoint, the no less than twenty vessels of this complex fall into three related but independent groups and seem to spread over the second and first centuries B.C. The third and youngest group is set apart not only by archaeological reasoning but by the use of Aramaic weight inscriptions on the bowls. It seems almost certain that we are confronted not only with different owners but with products of different workshops.

If we consider treasure I as an archaeological assemblage that was used and buried at the same time in the first century B.C., we would then have to accept that most of the material is of much older manufacture. Moreover, the highly important group of horse trappings, or phalerae, from the second century, which was bought along with the bowls, likewise has no counterparts among the later objects of the hypothetical hoard. I prefer, therefore, to consider the material from treasure I as a modern collector's treasure of finds from different sources, most likely from several tomb groups. It is possible but not provable that the horse trappings belonged to these tomb groups. As already stated, both the vessels and the horse decorations of treasure I reflect the Hellenized culture of Iran or—less likely—of Afghanistan in the second and first centuries B.C. In terms of ancient history, the material—as is the case with treasures II and III—represents the early Parthian Empire.

Since the material of all these treasures does not stem from regular excavations, our options in reaching final conclusions concerning provenance and chronology are limited. In order not to obscure possible assemblages any further, it seemed advisable to arrange this catalogue by way of treasures, just as they have reached the Getty Museum over the years, but the very nature of these assemblages should always be taken into consideration. Because they provide a rare insight into the ethnic affiliation of their former Parthian owners, I shall begin my analysis with the phalerae from treasure I. The phalerae belong to a new class of non-Greek, non-Iranian horse decorations that came into use in Iran,

Afghanistan, and Pakistan in the second century B.C. and were subsequently adopted by nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples on the northern shore of the Black Sea. As the discussion of the silver bowls shows, it is possible that they too were in Parthian possession, although the Iranian nobility cannot be excluded with certainty.

The phalerae can be attributed to the sphere of Hellenized Iranian craftsmanship. Although we cannot reconstruct which of the bowls belonged with which harness ornaments, the treasure in its entirety actually supports the dualistic picture of early Parthian culture presented in literary sources. The overall importance of horses and cavalry for peoples of nomadic origin is mirrored in these rich horse trappings of a new type, whereas the workmanship of both the silverware and the harness ornaments can be attributed exclusively to provincial Hellenized workshops and demonstrates the preference of the Parthian nobility for Greek culture—consistent with the “philhellenos” on Parthian coins. Influences from the old Achaemenid tradition, which survived for centuries the breakdown of the Achaemenids as a political power in Iran, are almost entirely lacking. From the viewpoint of an art historian, the vessels exemplify provincial Seleucid traditions, even though they were made in the Parthian period.

Special attention should be drawn, as well, to the aspect of chronology. As far as the Hellenized East is concerned we are still without an established chronological system for metalware and the decorative arts. As a matter of fact, the Getty silver offers us the first possibility to proceed in this direction and beyond the suggested chronological limits—the second century B.C. for most of the material from treasure I and the first century B.C. for the third group of treasure I and treasures II, III, and IV; in my opinion it is impossible at the moment to assign more precise dates to the various vessels published in this catalogue. In some instances, I have suggested closer limits of time—for example, the later decades of the first century—but these should always be understood as tentative. In fact, the earlier groups of bowls from treasure I may belong not to the second but to the first half of the second century; even a dating in the latter decades of the third century is conceivable. In a way, the same holds true for treasures II and III. A dating in the early first century is as possible as an attribution to the later decades.

At the moment, one of the main obstacles is the very nature of the comparative material, a considerable part of which stems from regions outside the Hellenized Near East or at least from sites outside Iran, Afghani-

stan, and Pakistan. Any chronology for the Getty silver must be established in reference to this material—specifically by comparing the respective ornamental systems. Consequently, my emphasis is on the general development of Hellenistic decorative art and not on developments originating in the provincial areas in question. That means, for example, that for the earlier two groups of treasure I we can only point out that, according to developments in the centers of the Hellenistic world, these vessels could be dated as early as the second half of the third century.

In addition, our knowledge of the factor of retardation in the vast but provincial areas of the Hellenized East is unfortunately still very limited. We are able to trace early Hellenistic elements in provincial areas much longer than in regions under the constant influence of the centers. Consequently, two layers of evidence must always be kept in view: first, the dating according to the standard of the ancient centers; and second, the actual and possibly retarded chronology of the provincial material. For the most recent group of treasure I and treasure III, inscriptions offer some help, but for the earlier groups of treasure I and for treasure II we must build our conclusions on archaeological comparisons. Some of the differences that we interpret as chronological distinctions may in the future prove themselves as different but contemporaneous workshop traditions of widely distant areas.

A fourth important eastern treasure (treasure IV) in the J. Paul Getty Museum—composed of several vessels of precious metal, jewelry, and harness ornaments—can be attributed to the early period of nomadic control over the formerly Graeco-Bactrian or Indo-Greek world. The jewelry consists mostly of appliques for garments and torque-like necklaces. One of the silver vessels finds a close parallel in the Parthian treasure II, thus stressing some connections to this Hellenized eastern world, a connection that is all too obvious for the silver, which stands within Greek traditions, but is almost absent in the case of the jewelry, which represents the central Asian affiliations of the artists and their patrons.

Nothing could be learned about the precise provenance of treasure IV and, as in the case of the Parthian treasure I, we cannot consider it as a single hoard or tomb group. Notwithstanding this fact, it reflects again the historical circumstances of the period in question. As is the case with treasures I, II, and III, the silver vessels demonstrate the survival of the old Seleucid and possibly the Graeco-Bactrian repertoire. In the formerly Greek world of Bactria, Afghanistan, and Pakistan,

Hellenistic traditions of craftsmanship apparently survived the eventual collapse of the Greek-dominated states, as to a similar extent the Seleucid repertoire lived on under the Parthian Empire in Iran and Mesopotamia.

Concerning the chronology of the gold from treasure IV, we are on much safer ground, having in the background the excavations from Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan or those from Taxila (Pakistan). A late Hellenistic or early Imperial date—the last decades of the first century B.C. or the first half of the first century A.D.—is highly probable, but the somewhat earlier placement of some of the silver in the first century B.C. must remain tentative, again because of the lack of datable monuments in Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

A precise ethnic attribution for the former owners is not possible at the moment, but their strong affiliation to the ruling nomadic classes of the period in question can hardly be denied. A term like Proto-Kushan may even be justified, but in order to avoid the controversial problem of Kushan chronology, the terms Indo-Scythian and Scytho-Bactrian have been selected. Standing alone, neither is entirely satisfactory, because the first excludes the northern Afghan, the latter the Pakistani regions. These designations are always used in combination to describe primarily the cultural and not the political bonds of the former users of treasure IV.

In general, while the treasures in the Getty Museum offer us a first, very incomplete, insight into both the relative and the absolute chronology of metal vessels and their decorative systems in the Hellenized Near East and central Asia, any more precise dating and the vindication of the suggested distribution of the material over different workshop traditions have to be left to the future. The reader is reminded that these considerations are crucial to the following discussions.

The Getty Museum silver, as a substantial body of material from the Hellenized East, offers us the opportunity to study, for the first time, the survival and development of Hellenistic traditions of form in the field of metalware under foreign, non-Greek rule, a repertoire that proved to be far more long-lasting than the oriental Graeco-Macedonian world as a political power.

# TREASURE I

IN 1981, THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM ACQUIRED A large treasure, which, in addition to numerous silver bowls (nos. 1–24), also included horse trappings (nos. 26–36) and jewelry (nos. 38–65). The treasure was purchased in the Swiss art market, and nothing could be learned of its origins. Consequently, essential questions about the nature of the material must be answered through archaeological analysis and study.

Along with the treasure, the museum also acquired an oval Sasanian bowl and a silver vessel with a middle Persian inscription, vessels that have been excluded here because they have nothing in common with the Hellenistic material from treasure I.

It will be shown that the silver bowls in the treasure adopt forms from the Greek-Seleucid repertoire, whereas the horse trappings follow not Greek but central Asian traditions. The type of the horse trappings in combination with the inverted Seleucid anchors and Aramaic inscriptions on some of the bowls allow treasure I to be attributed to the Hellenized Near East—the workshops in all probability to be sought in Iran.

Although the ateliers that produced the silverware and the ornamental horse trappings stand almost exclusively in provincial but Hellenistic Greek traditions, the former owners of at least most of the material from treasure I were of non-Greek origin and can in all likelihood be identified with the Parthians, the new lords of Iran who followed the Seleucid dynasty.

## ORNAMENTAL HORSE TRAPPINGS

The silver and bronze horse trappings in treasure I provide more information about the social and ethnic backgrounds of their former owners than does any other object in the collection.

### THE PHALERAE

Numerous representations and preserved examples indicate that objects like the Getty Museum's seven silver and bronze disks or phalerae, with their large loops for attachment at the back side, served as harness ornaments and perhaps as symbols of the rider's rank. The phalerae at the Getty Museum form several pairs that were almost certainly attached to the horses' breast straps on both shoulders of the horse. Many representations show a second pair of phalerae behind the saddle, and such representations will always be referred to as "with four phalerae." Two of the Malibu pairs depict

scenes of a lion killing a stag (nos. 30–33) in mirror image, and a third pair, also of silver, imitates bowls with omphaloi (nos. 34–35). The seventh phalera is made up of a simple bronze disk with a raised rim (no. 36).

Before we consider the figural decorations, we will examine the phalerae from a typological viewpoint, which is especially telling in light of the ethnic identification of their former owners. Although some medallions of smaller size with just one loop on the back side are known from horse trappings of late Classical times,<sup>1</sup> the use of the larger version is typical for Sarmatian and Parthian peoples on the northeastern borders of the Hellenistic world (fig. 1).

There are phalerae known from Scytho-Sarmatian burials north of the Black Sea (figs. 2, 3)<sup>2</sup> as well as from central Asia and Pakistan (fig. 4).<sup>3</sup> The evidence provided by numerous Near Eastern terracottas,<sup>4</sup> perhaps by bronze belt buckles from Iran,<sup>5</sup> by a lynx phalera from Iran, and from depictions of Parthians on Iranian rock reliefs<sup>6</sup> indicates that phalerae were above all typical of the horse trappings of the Parthians and other peoples with central Asian connections. The same can be learned from a late Hellenistic textile, most likely Bactrian, from a tomb near Noin Ula in Mongolia, with a representation of a horse similarly caparisoned.<sup>7</sup>

For the late Hellenistic period, the same conclusion can be drawn from the famous wall decorations of mounted archers from the palace in Khalschayan in Uzbekistan (fig. 5).<sup>8</sup> In India, the Indo-Scythians and Kushans, all descendants of Saka peoples, also used harness ornaments of this type during the first centuries of the Christian era,<sup>9</sup> and in Taxila they are to be found in a late Saka-Parthian context.<sup>10</sup> The tradition is also encountered in Iran among the Sasanians, the successors to the Parthians.<sup>11</sup> The Parthian connection is also suggested by wall paintings and incised drawings from Parthian Dura Europos<sup>12</sup> and reliefs of the Parthian-influenced art of Palmyra.<sup>13</sup>

Although we know of numerous representations of phalera from Syria, all the preserved phalerae have been found in the north Pontic region, in central Asia, and in India, all areas dominated for centuries by nomadic peoples. It is therefore not surprising that even in Syrian representations the depicted individuals wear exclusively oriental costumes, familiar not only in Iran but also among nomadic peoples from the Asian steppes.

The South Russian phalerae (figs. 2, 3) are concentrated in the regions east of Panticapeum and the Don (fig. 1), most likely a reflection in the archaeological rec-

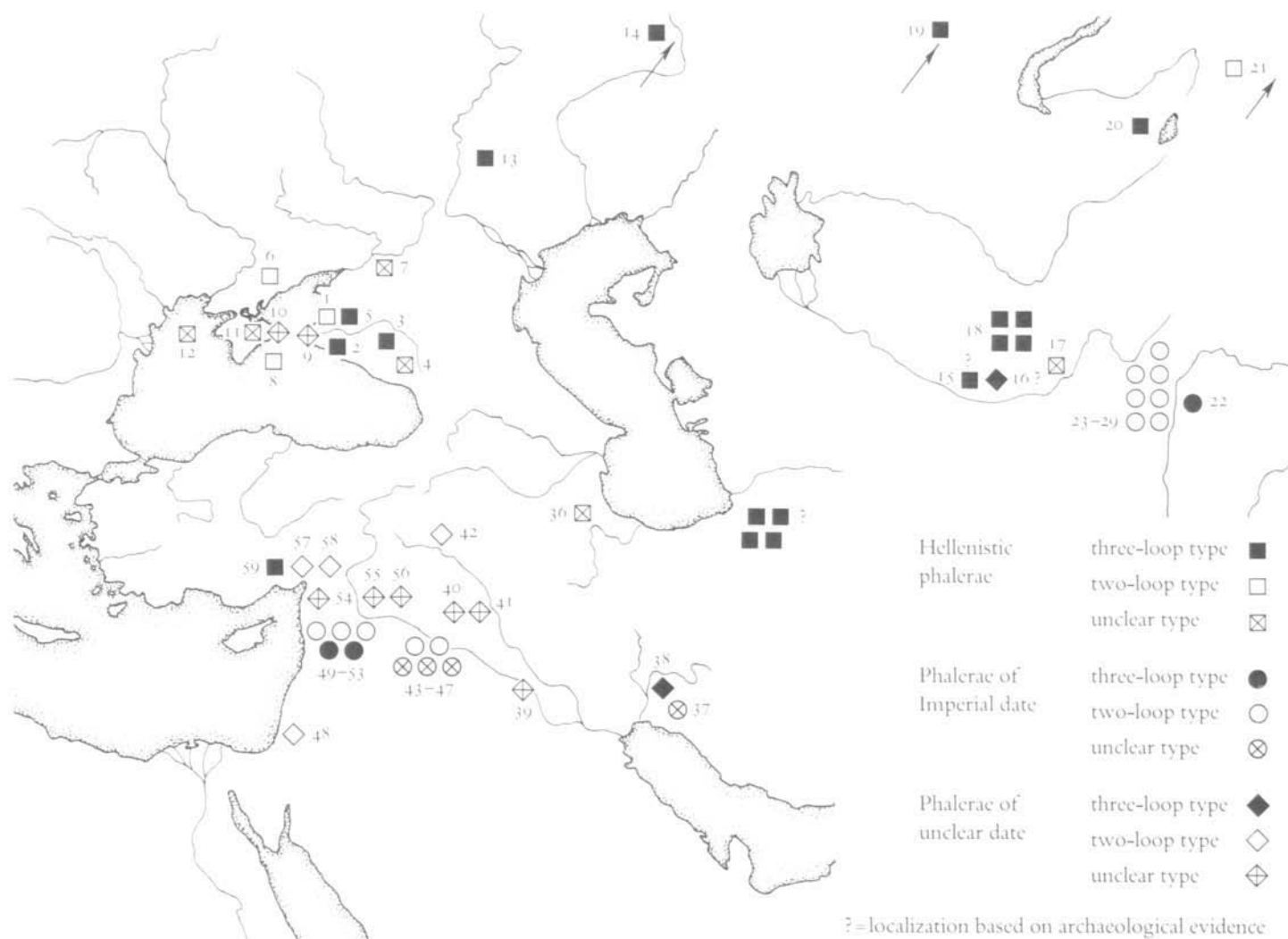


FIGURE 1a. Distribution of phalerae (by type). For the key to the numbers, see below.

- 1 Silver phalerae from Akhtanizovka. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, AXT 18 (see note 20).
- 2 Silver phalera from Siverskaya Stanitsa. Moscow, Historical Museum (see note 21).
- 3 Silver phalera from Vozdvizhenskaya Stanitsa (see note 25).
- 4 Silver phalera from Uspenskaya Stanitsa. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 56).
- 5 Silver phalerae from Voronezhskaya Stanitsa. Krasnodar, State Musuem of History and Archaeology F2 181, 182 (see note 25).
- 6 Silver phalera from Janchekrak (see note 25).
- 7 Silver phalerae from Fedulovo. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 19).
- 8 Silver phalera from South Russia. Paris, Cabinet des médailles (see note 25).
- 9 Terracotta statuette of a horseman, Phanagoreia (see note 2).
- 10 Terracotta statuette of a horseman, Mount Mithridates. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 2).
- 11 Terracotta statuettes of horsemen, Kerch. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 2).
- 12 Terracotta statuette of a horseman, South Russia. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum (see note 75).
- 13 Silver phalerae from Novouzensk. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 25).
- 14 Silver phalerae from Volodarka (see note 25).
- 15 Silver phalerae from "Bactria." St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 27).
- 16 Silver phalerae from "central Asia." St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see note 26).
- 17 Bronze phalera from Typ-chona (see note 69).
- 18 Terracotta reliefs of horsemen from the palace of Khalchayan (see note 8).
- 19 Gold statuette of a horseman from "central Asia." St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z-548 (see note 37).
- 20 Horsemen on gold-sheet appliqué, Tenlik Kurgan (see note 26).
- 21 Horsemen on textiles from Noin Ula (see note 7).
- 22 Silver phalera from Taxila (see note 10).
- 23-29 Representations of phalerae on Gandharan reliefs. Lahore Museum 116, 2340; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris, Musée Guimet MG. 18509; Peshawar Museum 16, 1719 (see note 9).

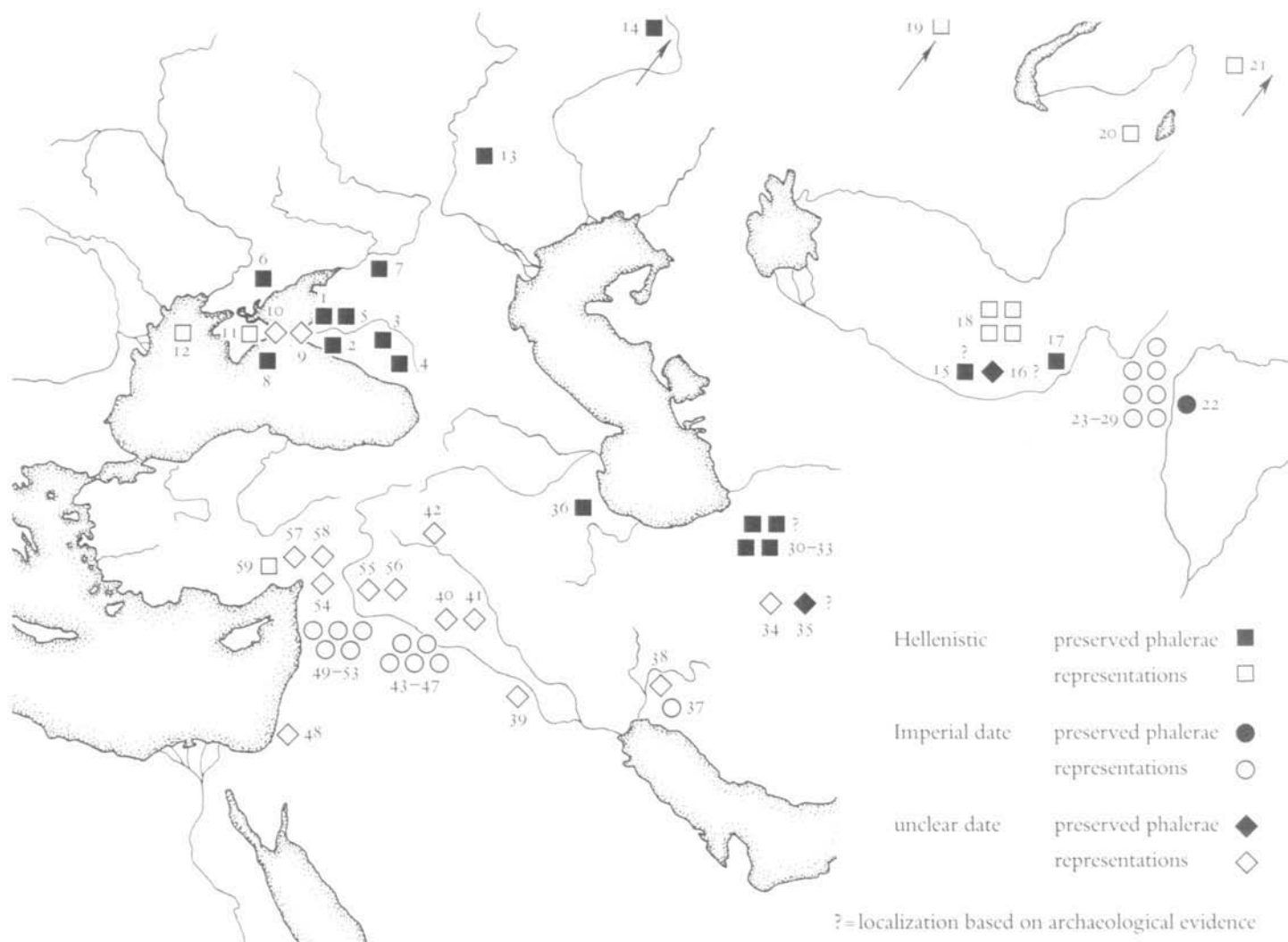


FIGURE 1B. Distribution of phalerae (preserved examples as well as representations). For the key to the numbers, see below.

- 30–32 Silver phalerae from “Iran.” Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.86.1–.2; 81.AM.87.1–.4 (cat. nos. 30–35).
- 33 Bronze phalera from “Iran.” Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AC.88 (cat. no. 36).
- 34 Silver plate with a horseman from “Iran.” Private collection (see note 207).
- 35 Silver phalera from “Iran.” Art market (see note 6).
- 36 Bronze phalera from Hasanlu. Teheran Museum (see note 70).
- 37 Rock-cut reliefs with Parthian horsemen from Tang-i Sarvak and Hung-i Nauruzi (see note 6).
- 38 Terracotta horse from Masjid-i Solaiman (see note 4).
- 39 Terracotta statuettes of horsemen from Seleucia. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum 14210 and 15678 (see note 4).
- 40 Terracotta relief from Babylonia. London, British Museum 91908 (see note 4).
- 41 Terracotta statuette of a woman riding from Babylonia. New Haven, Yale University, Babylonian Collection 2992 (see note 4).
- 42 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from Nimrud. London, British Museum 56–9–3, 122 (see note 4).
- 43 Wall painting from the Mithraeum in Dura Europos (see note 12).
- 44 Graffito from Dura Europos, temple of Azzanathkona (see note 12).
- 45–47 Graffiti from Dura Europos (see note 12).
- 48 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from Palestine. Paris, Musée du Louvre A. O. 10221 (see note 4).
- 49–52 Horsemen on “Palmyran reliefs” (see note 13).
- 53 Horseman on a relief from Djoubb el-Djarrah, Homs (see note 13).
- 54 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from the art market of Aleppo. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (see note 4).
- 55 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from “Syria.” London, British Museum 135684 (see note 4).
- 56 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from the Syrian art market. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (see note 4).
- 57 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from Ain el-Beda, Syria. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.454 (see note 4).
- 58 Terracotta statuette of a horseman from Cappadocia. Paris, Musée du Louvre (see note 4).
- 59 Parthian horses on coins of Labienus (40 B.C.) (see note 14).



ord of the onslaught of the Sarmatian migration.

The first Roman “contact” with the fashion for phalerae can be seen in the Parthian horse on the coins of the triumvir Labienus, which were struck in 40 B.C.<sup>14</sup> The identification of the horse as Parthian is further corroborated by the type of its trappings. A considerable number of phalerae decorate the trappings of horses on Roman tombstones of the northern provinces, not earlier than in the first century A.D., possibly reflecting the adoption of a Near Eastern tradition.<sup>15</sup> The arrangement of the leather straps in these tomb reliefs is not the same, however, but the idea that the phalera is fixed over a strap junction is reflected in the short strap, hanging down from the medallion. The Roman military possibly borrowed this fashion from their most feared enemies in the East, the Parthians.

In contrast, no phalerae of this size are known from the main regions of the Hellenistic world, either from graves or depicted in the numerous equestrian representations. It is nevertheless no contradiction in terms if many of the known phalerae were executed in a strictly Greek style (figs. 3, 4). As was already the case in Classical times among the Scythians in South Russia, considerable work was done during the Hellenistic period by Greek craftsmen for non-Greek patrons. This is especially true of Bactria and Iran, since the small Graeco-Macedonian upper class was finally displaced as

a ruling elite by nomadic peoples and local dynasties in the course of the second century B.C. The lack of comparable trappings in the areas under Graeco-Macedonian domination is in itself enough to suggest a different ethnic background for the owners of the Getty phalerae.

The decorative disks at the Getty Museum (nos. 30–36) belong to the group of flat phalerae from Hellenistic times.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of their attachment to the harness, we can distinguish two basic types, which in turn provide further information about the nature of the harness itself. Some phalerae have two loops on the back for the straps of the harness. A larger group—including the Getty phalerae—is manufactured with three (fig. 4).<sup>17</sup> It is striking that almost all of the examples with three loops are larger than the examples in Malibu, in some cases more than twice as large. The Getty pieces range in size from 12.6 (nos. 32–33) to 17.2 centimeters (nos. 34–35). The distribution of both types is represented in figures 1A and 1B.

Since the themes depicted on the Malibu disks suggest an early date for the pieces in the second and maybe even in the late third century B.C.,<sup>18</sup> and since by comparison none of the much larger pieces can be dated with certainty to the third century B.C., it is possible that the larger examples, especially those which measure between 25 and 30 centimeters, like the pair from



FIGURE 2. Terracotta horseman from Panticapaeum, Kerch, circa second or first century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (from L. Stephani, *CR* [1870–71], p. 168, pl. 2.7).



FIGURE 3. Silver phalera from Fedulovo, second century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Photo: DAI, Rome.

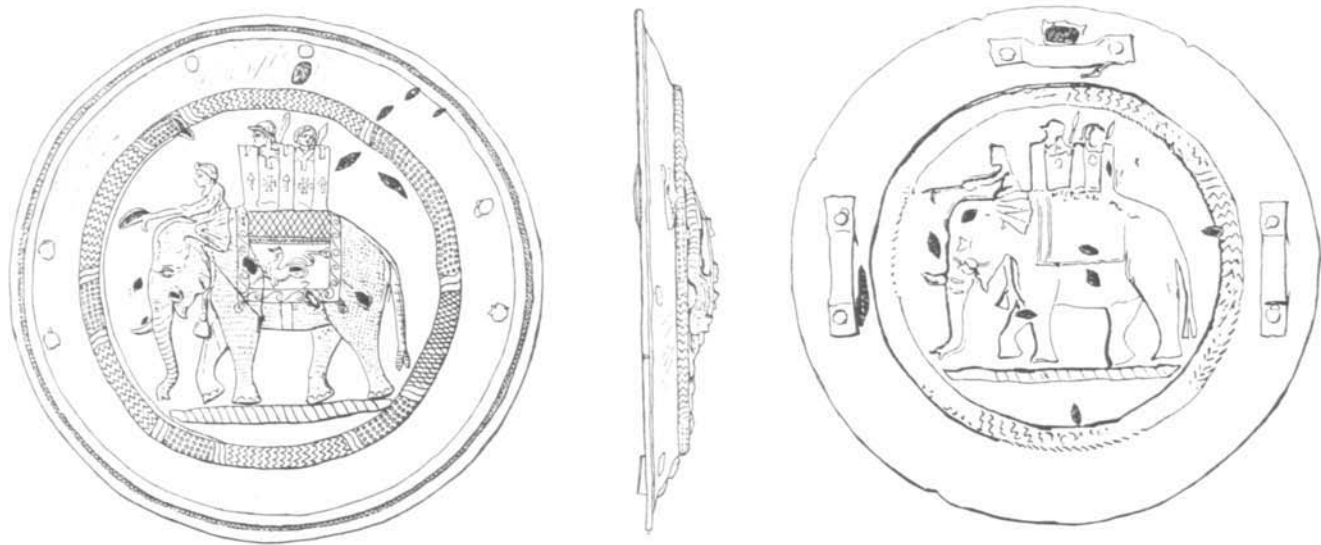


FIGURE 4A–C. Bactrian phalerae with military elephants, second century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage (from A. Spizyn [1909], figs. 74–76).

Fedulovo/Cherkassy near the Don in South Russia (fig. 3),<sup>19</sup> appear later in the second century B.C. This would correlate well with the early date around 200 B.C. or in the early second century assigned to two phalerae from Akhtanizovka,<sup>20</sup> but less well with the relatively small disk from Siverskaya Stanitsa on the Kuban Peninsula that was found with coins from the last quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, smaller phalerae are not always to be attributed to earlier periods, a finding that is in harmony with the varying sizes of phalerae even on Syrian representations from Imperial times.<sup>22</sup> Larger and smaller examples are at least to be found side by side from the second century on. However, the fact that there is not a single large example among the seven pieces at the Getty Museum might indicate that they represent an earlier phase in the development of the phalera fashion.

The antithetic representations of attacking animal groups on the two pairs from Malibu (nos. 30–33) show that the two pieces that make up a pair were attached on opposite sides of the horse and that the representations were most likely oriented toward the direction of movement.

Many representations show a harness with four phalerae, attached both in front of and behind the saddle (fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> The loops attached to the Getty phalerae for the straps of the harness exclude the possibility of a usage behind the saddle, however. The Malibu phalerae were not affixed to a single strap but to crossed straps, with a vertical strap running downward from the point where

the disk is attached to a horizontal strap. A similar arrangement can be seen on the reliefs from Khalchayan (fig. 5). As the illustrations show, no such arrangement of straps is known for a horse's hindquarters, so the Getty phalerae must belong to four different sets of harnesses.

The special arrangement of the harness straps indicated by the loops on these pieces seems not to have been known in southern Russia in the fifth and fourth centuries.<sup>24</sup> The examples of the early second century from Akhtanizovska Stanitsa, some late Hellenistic northern Pontic phalerae, such as a piece from Janchek-rak, and a pair bearing an inscription naming Mithridates were made for a single broad strap. Other phalerae of the second century, like the ones from Fedulovo (fig. 3), Siverskaya Stanitsa, Vozdvizhenskaya Stanitsa, and Voronezhskaya Stanitsa on the Kuban Peninsula, a pair with curled griffins from Novouzensk, north of the Caspian Sea, and another one with representations of Bellerophon found near Volodarka, in the South Ural district, show the three-loop arrangement that can be traced back to central Asian trappings.<sup>25</sup> Examples of the special arrangement of the harness straps are the late Hellenistic reliefs of horsemen from the palace of Khalchayan in Uzbekistan (fig. 5), gold-sheet appliques from the Tenlik Kurgan, and on an undecorated pair of phalerae in St. Petersburg from central Asia.<sup>26</sup> To completely outline the geographical distribution of this type of harness, we should mention the three-loop phalerae from the Saka-Parthian strata in Taxila in Pakistan (see fig. 1).

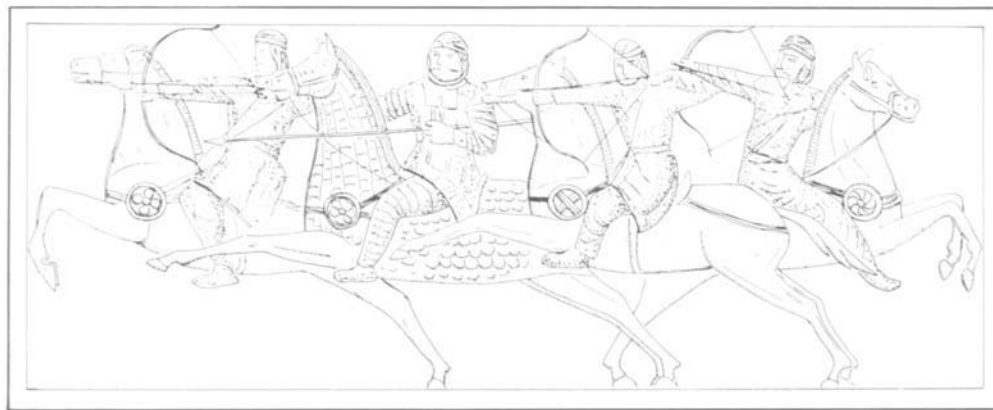


FIGURE 5. Late Hellenistic terracotta reliefs with horsemen from the palace of Khalchayan in Uzbekistan. Drawing by the author.

Another pair in the Hermitage bears the image of an Indian military elephant framed by a belted garland (fig. 4).<sup>27</sup> These and the undecorated pair in St. Petersburg are far larger than the Malibu phalerae.

The provenance of the elephant phalerae is unknown but it should definitely be sought within Russian central Asia. It has been suggested that the elephant phalerae are of Bactrian origin on the basis of the motif of the Indian elephant and the type of helmet worn by the warrior in the tower on the elephant's back.<sup>28</sup> Even if the type of helmet depicted is not in and of itself sufficient evidence, and although the Indian war elephants used by the Antigonids and Seleucids occasionally did fall even into the hands of the Egyptian Ptolemies,<sup>29</sup> the Indian elephant with an Indian driver or "maout" does indicate an eastern origin.<sup>30</sup> The main evidence in favor of an eastern, that is, central Asian provenance, is, however, the arrow-shaped ornament on the tower on the elephant's back. The motif is typical of architectural decoration in the former Seleucid sphere of influence, but not of Seleucid architecture itself.<sup>31</sup> It may have been adopted from the decorative repertoire of the minor arts, in which it is already to be encountered in Achaemenid times.<sup>32</sup>

Since, moreover, the Seleucids and the other Hellenistic armies apparently did not use phalerae of this eastern type, and since nothing is known of any Parthian war elephants, the only possible area of origin remaining for the elephant phalerae is Bactria.<sup>33</sup> Bactria already had traditionally close contacts with the nomadic peoples of central Asia during the period of Graeco-Macedonian rule.<sup>34</sup> The elephant phalerae thus provide a further geographically identifiable example of the strap arrangement for which the decorative disks at the Getty Museum were made.

The later second century witnessed the breakdown of the Graeco-Bactrian world and the subsequent rise of realms under nomadic domination. It seems far more likely that the Graeco-Bactrian armies used Indian war elephants than that their nomadic successors did. That could mean, however, that the phalerae were produced for the Graeco-Bactrian cavalry and thus demonstrate the introduction of the phalera fashion into the Graeco-Bactrian repertoire. Furthermore, if we take the size of the elephant phalerae into consideration, a date earlier than the middle or the late second century B.C. should be ruled out. And, if the St. Petersburg pair are seen as evidence of the eventual takeover of the Bactrian world by nomadic overlords who did indeed use war elephants, a first century B.C. date is possible.

Such a late dating of the elephant phalerae raises the question of when the phalera fashion began in central Asia. A precondition for the development of the three-loop type is a trapping with straps that join in front of the saddle.

The close ties of this particular harness feature to areas dominated by central Asian nomadic cultures is borne out not the least by trappings from the Pazyryk kurgans in the Altai. On a wall hanging from Grave 5 there is a horse with crossed straps in front of the saddle, and some of the harnesses from horses' graves can also be similarly reconstructed.<sup>35</sup> It might even be possible to identify a precursor to the phalera fashion among the finds.<sup>36</sup>

The next step in the development is illustrated by a miniature golden statuette of a horseman from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great (fig. 6).<sup>37</sup> The strap junction is already decorated by a small phalera, and the hairdo of the rider with an enormous topknot over the forehead immediately recalls representations on the tap-

estries from Pazyryk that were buried in the late fourth or early third century B.C.<sup>38</sup> If we combine this evidence with the first rise of the phalera fashion in the north Pontic region about 200 B.C., it seems most likely that even in the Bactrian sphere the use of the phalerae was not established before the late third century,<sup>39</sup> and simultaneously reached Iran in the wake of the Parthian invasion.

These considerations set a first terminus post quem for the Malibu phalerae. Furthermore, because material from sources inside the former Soviet Union is literally unknown on the modern art market, a north Pontic or south Siberian provenance can be excluded. That limits the provenance to Iran or, and this is theoretically only a slight possibility, Afghanistan. The latter option seems most unlikely, however, given the Parthian affiliations of the silver acquired with the phalerae.

If we examine in detail the Getty phalerae with attacking animal groups against this background, further arguments for attributing them to the central Asian region once under Seleucid and Parthian control are revealed. This applies in particular to the disks that depict a lion pouncing on a fallen stag (nos. 30–33). The actual pictorial medallion of one pair (nos. 30–31) is framed by a belted garland.<sup>40</sup> The two pairs are quite different in quality, but both prove to be products of provincial workshops. On each pair the groups are given in mirror image.

The composition of numbers 30 and 31 follows the Greek type of an attacking animal group, a motif that appears continuously in more or less canonical form from as early as the fifth century B.C.<sup>41</sup> Typical in particular is the position of the legs of the fallen stag, forelegs bent and one hind leg outstretched. Equally typical is the depiction of the lion with one paw on the stag's hind leg and the head shown frontally. Although this position of the head is encountered frequently,<sup>42</sup> it does not appear on every Greek group with attacking animals.<sup>43</sup>

Further attention should be drawn to the turned head of the stag. Whether the attacker is a lion or a griffin, on Greek groups of this type the head of the helpless victim is almost always turned forward, in the direction of flight,<sup>44</sup> just as we find it on the second pair of phalerae in Malibu (nos. 32–33). With a few exceptions,<sup>45</sup> an animal with its head turned back is usually to be found only in groups with two attacking animals.<sup>46</sup> The turned-back head is known also on Achaemenid compositions, but the number of existing examples is too small to indicate whether this motif is a Near Eastern preference or not.<sup>47</sup> This characteristic also recurs on the attacking animal groups on the textiles from the Pazy-



FIGURE 6. Golden statuette of a nomadic horseman from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great (see note 37). St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z-548. Drawing by Tim Seymour after the author.

ryk graves,<sup>48</sup> compositions that already reveal a combination of Achaemenid and Greek forms.<sup>49</sup> In view of the still-to-be discussed echoes of the Scythian and central Asian animal style in the figures of the deer on the Getty phalerae, this could indicate an eastern connection for the repertoire.

Despite the care exercised by the silversmiths, a certain ineptitude is apparent. The attempt to depict the antlers in perspective, for example, is unsuccessful, as is the execution of the deers' heads. In spite of the obvious effort to emphasize the plasticity of the relief by the rounded depiction of parts of the body and muscles, the lack of harmony between individual anatomical forms and a certain clumsiness are evident. Given the more schematic representation of the animal's skin on no. 31, which does not depict the large starlike cowlicks on the deer's flanks, we can assume the pairs represent the work of two different craftsmen.

In view of the attempt at realism in the portrayal of the lion, it is surprising to discover clear echoes of Achaemenid and central Asian animal style motifs in the portrayal of the stag. The carefully parted hair on the neck of one of the stags is unquestionably Achaemenid-inspired (no. 30), as is the prominent and quite ornamental arch over the eye. As on some representations of deer in the Scythian animal style, the round eyes were originally also inlaid with stones.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the considerably elongated hooves point clearly to the Scythian animal style.<sup>51</sup>

The use of the basically Greek composition is thus unquestionably to be localized in an area that was to a

very considerable degree under Achaemenid and central Asian influence. This fact combined with the distribution of ornamental disks with the type of strap arrangement already described (see drawing, no. 34) strongly suggests Iran or Bactria as the place of origin. Such a suggestion may also be supported by the use of the belted garland frame for the pictorial field, which occurs also on the elephant phalerae (fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> The extreme slenderness of the lion's body just in front of the hind legs finds a parallel not only in a lion on a small silver relief that supposedly comes from the Iranian Dalaiman area but in even more exaggerated form in attacking animal groups on textiles from the kurgans of Pazyryk.<sup>53</sup>

The second pair in Malibu is by far of more modest quality (nos. 32, 33). The position of the legs shows that the composition no longer strictly follows a Greek model, and the rendering of details is neither as varied nor of as high a quality as on the first pair (nos. 31, 31). The position of the head is different and echoes of the animal style are lacking in the form of the hooves. The minor quality of this pair is also illustrated by the fact that the surfaces of the animals' bodies are treated in almost exactly the same fashion as the background of the medallion. The conception as a whole, however, is to be found again on a saddle covering from the first grave in Pazyryk (fig. 7),<sup>54</sup> although the circular form of the medallion led to an even greater compression of the group. The form of the disks themselves is also simpler than the first pair of phalerae. We find neither a framing garland nor a wide, undecorated rim. The analysis of this second pair also reveals ties to the Scythian art of the steppes, as is the case with the first pair, although the ties of the second pair are of a different kind and more limited.

The first pair especially is hardly thinkable outside the Hellenized world of central Asia. The allusions to nomadic forms, however, clearly point to a localization of the workshops in the northern border areas of the Hellenized Seleucid sphere or, less likely, the Bactrian sphere. However, since the custom of using phalerae was apparently not known in Hellenistic kingdoms outside of Bactria, localization of the workshop in Seleucid regions such as Mesopotamia or Syria can be ruled out.

Since an origin in Russian central Asia can be excluded, we can narrow the possible provenance to the Parthian provinces in what is now northwest Iran. As an alternative, an Afghan origin is not entirely out of the question but the preference for attacking animal groups points to a sphere of nomadic domination. Consequently, I would favor a northwestern Iranian provenance, probably in the early Parthian provinces on the



FIGURE 7. Lion felling an elk, detail from a saddle decoration, Pazyryk, Tomb 1, late fourth or early third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Drawing by the author.

southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea.

The use of the attacking animal group as an iconographic motif was widespread in central Asia. These representations dominate the art of the steppes from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the Altai.<sup>55</sup> However, in Hellenistic times Greek horse trappings were decorated, with a few exceptions,<sup>56</sup> with gods and heroes.<sup>57</sup> The theme of the animal under attack thus fits perfectly into the nomadic world,<sup>58</sup> although it is in our case iconographically anchored in the tradition of Greek forms. A further example for this preference is given by the pair of phalerae from Vozdvizhenskaya Stanitsa in the Kuban region on which a goat is attacked by a fabulous being that resembles a hydra.<sup>59</sup>

In this connection, it comes as no surprise that on the Malibu phalerae echoes of the animal style are found especially in the stags, since this animal is documented in innumerable instances in this cultural sphere.<sup>60</sup> That the stag had a similar special meaning among the Parthians is probable.<sup>61</sup>

Dating the ornamental horse trappings at the Getty Museum is far more difficult than localizing their place of origin. Phalerae of this size have been documented at the earliest from a South Russian grave of around 200 B.C.<sup>62</sup> At present, no phalerae of this size can be dated with certainty to the third century B.C.; however, the Getty pieces cannot be matched with the much larger examples that occur in contexts of the second half of the second century or later.

The iconographic parallels cited would readily allow a dating of our phalerae to the third century B.C., but a second-century B.C. representation of lions felling a bull in Pergamon shows how long such compositions, once established, were retained.<sup>63</sup> Iconographic parallels from an early Hellenistic context<sup>64</sup> thus cannot be

regarded as a sufficient argument for dating these examples to the third century B.C. The Getty phalerae presuppose a nomad, Hellenistic-influenced cultural horizon that could scarcely have existed in the form necessary in northwestern Iran or provinces like Parthia and Hyrcania before the initial appearance of the Parthians in the last third of the third century B.C.<sup>65</sup> Against this background and in light of the parallels with the belted garlands on two of the phalerae,<sup>66</sup> we can assume that the pieces date not later than the second century B.C. and possibly even from the late third century.

The remaining silver pair of phalerae in treasure I provides little further evidence for attributing the pieces to the Irano-Parthian area, although a possible parallel for the singular feature of phalerae worked in the form of a phiale (nos. 34, 35) can be cited from the southern Caucasus.<sup>67</sup> The fluted edge of the phiale phalerae in Malibu is worth noting here. The motif could perhaps be interpreted as an abstract version of the egg and dart motif, an ornament that is often to be found on bowl or cup rims in areas under Seleucid influence (no. 75).<sup>68</sup>

The attribution of the phalerae to the Irano-Parthian territories is, however, strongly supported by the undecorated bronze phalera in Malibu (no. 36), for which an excellent parallel of the first half of the second century can be cited from Typ-chona in northern Bactria.<sup>69</sup> Another phalera, in this case decorated with a Pegasos, was reported to have been found in Iranian Azerbaijan.<sup>70</sup> Although the winged horse comes from the Greek repertoire, the use of the Pegasos motif is already to be found in the northern Pontic-Scythian region.<sup>71</sup>

In view of the parallels and of the size of the disks discussed above, a second-century date, perhaps even in the first half, seems likely.

In terms of cultural history, the Getty phalerae make it possible to reconstruct a situation similar to that evident from South Russian finds: Greek and Hellenized craftsmen provided the formal stylistic means while the nomadic patrons determined the type of object and the iconographic theme to be used. Regardless of whether the workshops involved were in the Bactrian or Parthian regions, the disks owe their existence to that interdependence of nomadic ideas and Greek traditions of form that M. Rostovtzeff postulated with so much foresight for central Asia and Bactria.<sup>72</sup>

Rostovtzeff's ideas can most likely also be adopted in one further point. He suggested that the very origins of the phalerae fashion should be sought in the steppes of central Asia that were dominated by the Scythians

and nomads<sup>73</sup> since phalerae were part of the horse trappings of the nomads—later the Parthians—who from this area invaded the old satrapies of Parthia and Hyrcania. Alternatively, Sarmatians pushing into the steppes north of the Black Sea could have transmitted this custom to the West.

This view was vehemently questioned by J. Hermatta<sup>74</sup> but as figure 1 demonstrates, a listing of provenances of the three- and two-looped phalerae speaks strongly in favor of Rostovtzeff's hypothesis,<sup>75</sup> that the fashion should be considered as a central Asian one that was spread by the Parthians to the Hellenized Near East, and then reached the north Pontic regions with the Sarmatian migration and Pakistan with the rise of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian realms at the latest.<sup>76</sup> But did these peoples simply adopt a central Asian, possibly Bactrian tradition,<sup>77</sup> or should the fashion's very origins be sought in the nomadic world of central Asia, or at least in the interaction of the non-Greek peoples with Hellenized Bactrian central Asia? The latter alternative would easily explain the use of phalerae in the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and in all those nomad-dominated realms that followed.

## THE RHOMBOID PROMETOPIDION

To the same cultural and historical context as the phalerae belongs a rhomboid silver plaque which, on the basis of parallels, can be identified as a forehead ornament for a horse, which is known as a "prometopidion" (no. 26).<sup>78</sup> The richly decorated piece, 25 centimeters long, depicts a framed sphinx at the top, a large siren in the center, and below an eagle perched on a stag. The style of all the motifs is rather provincial.

The prometopidion was originally set in a fitting—perhaps of leather—which overlapped its edges to a width of about three millimeters and which was fastened to the edge of the metal with small rivets. Only traces of the overlapping edge with holes for the rivets are preserved. Two considerably larger rivet holes on the bottom edge of the plaque bear witness to rather carelessly executed repairs. The prometopidion was therefore not made specifically as a grave gift.<sup>79</sup>

Interestingly, a prometopidion of this type has never been found with the phalera type discussed above. The lack of parallels for the combined use of the rhomboid prometopidion and large phalerae of the three-looped type may be the result of chance as far as the finds themselves are concerned,<sup>80</sup> but it is striking that in all the representations of our type of prometopidion there are no large phalerae of the kind discussed here.

Even in the case of the very popular lenticular prometopidia of the Hellenistic world there is only one possible example of simultaneous use with large phalerae known to me.<sup>81</sup> It therefore seems likely that the prometopidion and the phalerae owe their development to different cultural groups.

We must also add that there is no evidence that the Getty prometopidion originally belonged to the same harness as one of the pairs of phalerae. As will be demonstrated, however, the figural decoration does indicate that it can be assigned to the same nomadic-Parthian context sketched for the phalerae. The owner undoubtedly shared in the world of nomad ideas, even if his horse wore a forehead ornament of Greek type.

Typological parallels for the rhomboid prometopidion must be sought in a considerable number of pictorial representations. The silver prometopidion in the Getty Museum is the only preserved example known to me. Elliptical, lenticular prometopidia appear to have been much more popular in Hellenistic times, and examples are to be found from Ptolemaic Egypt to South Russia and from Greece to Italy and Sicily.<sup>82</sup> However, representations of rhomboid prometopidia indicate a wide distribution of the rhomboid type also.

The use of small diamond-shaped prometopidia on the cross straps over the nose of a horse is already documented in the painting on the attic of the "tomb of

Philip" in Vergina.<sup>83</sup> A similar prometopidion is represented on the Alexander mosaic in Naples.<sup>84</sup> The small type was even used on a terracotta relief from Canosa in southern Italy.<sup>85</sup> On small terracotta reliefs of the third century, reportedly found at Tanagra<sup>86</sup> and probably the remains of a wooden sarcophagus, the prometopidia are no longer fixed straight over but in the middle of the horses' noses. These prometopidia are also somewhat larger, although they do not reach the format of the Malibu piece.

The size of our prometopidion finds a match on the representations of horse trappings on the weapons frieze on the walls of the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon, built under Eumenes II in the early second century B.C. (fig. 8). Among the weapons depicted are what are most likely representations of spoils captured during the battle of Magnesia against Antiochus III in the year 190 B.C.<sup>87</sup> In spite of the fragmentary state of preservation of the frieze, rhomboid prometopidia appear no less than three times,<sup>88</sup> while the widespread ellipsoidal type is absent.<sup>89</sup> At least two of the prometopidia are of considerable size, extending from the noseband to the front band.

Further evidence for the use of these prometopidia in the Seleucid area is provided by a small gold horse in the Oxus Treasure (fig. 9).<sup>90</sup> Its forehead ornament is smaller than the piece in Malibu. The prometopidion is



FIGURE 8. Trophy with horse trappings, detail from the weapons frieze, sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon, early second century B.C. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum. Photo: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung.



FIGURE 9. Golden horse from the Oxus Treasure, late third or early second century B.C. London, British Museum 123909.



attached to straps running diagonally across the horse's head, a feature that recurs in the harness of a marble horse's head in truly Greek style from Lindos.<sup>91</sup> Despite this Greek parallel, the diagonally crossed arrangement of the harness straps appears to be a Scythian-nomadic feature, sometimes Thracian but not Greek. In addition to parallels from southern Russia<sup>92</sup> and Thrace,<sup>93</sup> there are examples of Imperial date from Begram in Afghanistan.<sup>94</sup> As such, the harness is of no chronological significance. The prometopidion, however, suggests that the small gold horse in the Oxus Treasure dates only from the third or early second century B.C. It would thus be one of the latest pieces in the Oxus Treasure, which was buried in the first half of the second century.<sup>95</sup> The way the mane of the golden horse is bound together upright between the ears still reflects an old Achaemenid tradition.<sup>96</sup>

The Near Eastern context of the rhomboid Malibu prometopidion is further supported by the horse of Marcus Aurelius from the Capitoline Hill in Rome (fig. 10).<sup>97</sup> Not only does it follow the bound-mane Achaemenid style but the saddle cloth with the zigzag edge is also Persian in origin.<sup>98</sup> The noseband is decorated with a small rhomboid prometopidion, which is like that in Malibu even in the blunted form of the small sides. The original was, nevertheless, smaller than the piece in Malibu—about the same size as the model of the prometopidion on the horse in the Oxus Treasure (fig. 9). It is of some significance that—in spite of the Achaemenid features—the horse of Marcus Aurelius does not carry central Asian phalerae, indicating again that the fashion is not Graeco-Hellenistic but nomadic-Parthian in origin. That the horse which now bears the image of the Roman emperor once belonged to an eastern, possibly Seleucid, equestrian statue cannot, in this author's opinion, be doubted.

A representation of a horse on the late Hellenistic Lagina frieze from Caria in Asia Minor shows a possibly misinterpreted but nevertheless similarly formed prometopidion.<sup>99</sup> Large-sized examples of our diamond-shaped type can even be seen on Hellenistic earrings with bull's heads.<sup>100</sup> This variant of the animal-head earring was especially popular in the Ptolemaic sphere and according to the size of the bridles, the earrings in question must be attributed to the late third or early second century.

More or less in the same period should date the small Ptolemaic faience head of an elephant with an elaborate harness and a rhomboid prometopidion (fig. 11).<sup>101</sup> Given the small, evidently cropped ears,<sup>102</sup> and above all the animal's frontal humps, this must be a rep-



FIGURE 10. Head of the Hellenistic horse, statue of Marcus Aurelius, late third or second century B.C. Rome, Capitoline Hill. Photo: DAI, Rome.

resentation of an Indian war elephant, although it is depicted here with three instead of the anatomically correct two humps.<sup>103</sup> Although the Ptolemies did capture Indian elephants in a number of cases, they themselves used the African species.<sup>104</sup>

The non-Ptolemaic origin of the elephant that served as a model for the small faience figure is perhaps also suggested by the harness with prometopidion, whose use is reported in reference to the elephants of Antiochus III at the battle of Magnesia<sup>105</sup> but which seems to be unknown otherwise.<sup>106</sup> Since the Seleucid king lost a large number of such animals to Ptolemy IV in the Battle of Raphia in 217 B.C.,<sup>107</sup> and since we have here a depiction of a harnessed Indian elephant in Ptolemaic faience, it may be a representation of one of the captured animals.

The widespread knowledge of the large rhomboid type of prometopidion is also demonstrated by an Ibe-





FIGURE 11. Head of a Ptolemaic faience statuette of an elephant, late third or second century B.C. Amsterdam, Collection R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer 581.

rian bronze statuette of a horseman.<sup>108</sup>

In format, the Malibu prometopidion corresponds to the representations on the weapons frieze from Pergamon (fig. 8). Thus, on the basis of purely typological reasons, there is nothing that speaks against a dating to the latter part of the third or the early second century B.C. In light of preserved Hellenistic monuments in the Near East, our type—although widely known—seems to have been especially popular in the Seleucid sphere.

As the typological analysis showed, it is possible to attribute the Malibu prometopidion to the Hellenized Near East, an attribution that is indicated not the least on the basis of the context of treasure I. As for the phalerae, the figural decoration makes it possible furthermore to establish a relationship with the nomadic-Parthian sphere.

*Eagle and Stag.* The combination of a sphinx, a siren, and a predatory bird perched on a stag is, from the viewpoint of Greek iconography, more or less meaningless. The combination could, of course, be entirely ornamental. One way to explain this ensemble, however, is suggested by the motif of the eagle and stag. This small group includes a bird of prey, possibly an eagle, and a stag, which is characterized by its antlers, hooves, and short, stubby tail. The large, stylized eye immediately recalls the representation of the stag on the phalerae, while the decorative curls of the fur are somewhat suggestive of Achaemenid animal representations.

The quietly standing stag reveals no awareness of the bird that has its claws in his back. The bird, possibly an eagle, is turned away from its victim and the position thus conveys the impression that the bird is perched peacefully on the animal's back. Parallels for this stiff composition, however, include a number of animal groups in central Asia that portray the attack of an eagle on a deer, elk, or ram. Several representations from the Pazyryk tombs (fig. 12)<sup>109</sup> as well as a considerably later example from Noin Ula in Mongolia<sup>110</sup> can be cited here. In addition, there are examples from the sphere of Ordos art<sup>111</sup> and among the so-called Siberian goldworks with colored stone or paste inlays,<sup>112</sup> a style whose origins are probably to be sought in Bactria, according to Rostovtzeff.<sup>113</sup> As shown by recent finds from Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan that belong to a substantially later period, such objects were indeed used in this area and were probably even produced there.<sup>114</sup>

The motif of the struggle between a bird and a deer or ram was far more widely known in central Asia than in the western Scythian world.<sup>115</sup> The difference in the geographical distribution is especially noteworthy because there exists in general so much more material from the steppes north of the Black Sea.

As could be expected on the basis of the representations from central Asia, this motif is also found on works of Parthian origin—for example, on imprints of seals from the Parthian capital of Nisa<sup>116</sup> and above all on two gold buckles from the Iranian Nihavend Treasure.<sup>117</sup> The latter's depiction of an eagle attacking an ibex is similar to a piece of Siberian goldwork in the Hermitage.<sup>118</sup> We must therefore speak of a nomadic theme,



FIGURE 12. Eagle felling a stag, detail from a saddle decoration, Pazyryk, Tomb 5, late fourth or early third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Drawing by the author.

the meaning of which we are not able to determine for lack of written sources.

The representations just cited (fig. 12) are considerably more animated than the group on the prometopidion. Parthian seals convey a more rigid impression, but even here there is usually a collapsing deer or one whose depiction makes at least reference to the attacking animal. The remarkably stiff composition on the Getty prometopidion could be the result of a lack of skill, but more likely it is a clumsy combination of two nomadic-Scythian appliqué motifs—the stag and the bird. Each theme is known individually: the peacefully walking deer<sup>119</sup> and the eagle with its head turned to the side, which was especially popular in the north Pontic region in Scythian-Sarmatian contexts from the fifth century to about 200 B.C.<sup>120</sup> Whichever explanation we accept for the stiffness of the composition, it is obvious that our workshop—confronted with the patron's preference—was nevertheless not fundamentally oriented toward scenes and motifs from the nomadic world.

*Sphinx.* The hieratic stride of the sphinx in a separate field above the siren reminds us of Achaemenid examples, although there is a divergence from the traditional Achaemenid repertoire that should be noted here. Usually all four feet are touching the ground;<sup>121</sup> only in the case of sitting sphinxes do we find the paw raised as it is depicted on the prometopidion.<sup>122</sup> Both variants are to be found, for instance, as gold appliques in Achaemenid graves in Sardis (fig. 13).<sup>123</sup>

Only a few examples of the blend of these two motifs are known to me from the Achaemenid-influenced area,<sup>124</sup> and they may have been produced even in Hellenistic times on the basis of older models. One is a round gold-sheet appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, which was buried only in the early second century B.C.<sup>125</sup> Another is a fragment of an ivory comb with a representation of an Achaemenid royal sphinx in Teheran.<sup>126</sup> The comb could be identified as an Achaemenid work without hesitation if the wing did not culminate in a lion-griffin head.<sup>127</sup> Motifs of this type are typical for the “zoomorphic conjunction” of the Scythian animal style.<sup>128</sup> Familiarity with this style may have existed in Achaemenid ateliers as well, but the use is rather peculiar.<sup>129</sup> Iconographic parallels from the Oxus Treasure could speak rather for a post-Achaemenid dating of the motif.<sup>130</sup>

The hooked wing of the sphinx on the Getty prometopidion follows Achaemenid tradition; however, the typical overlapping arrangement of feathers of increasing size on Achaemenid wings has given way here to a simpler successive arrangement of the feathers.



FIGURE 13. Achaemenid gold-sheet appliques from Sardis, fifth or fourth century B.C. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4653. Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul (W. Schiele, photographer).

The typical Achaemenid stylization of muscles is lacking in the body of the animal. Both this feature and the lack of a real Achaemenid hairstyle on the human head—the hair on the back of the neck has been twisted together in Parthian fashion—point to the post-Achaemenid origin of the portrayal.<sup>131</sup> The heavy, segmented chain around the sphinx's neck is even documented as an ornament for the Parthian king Mithridates III before 53 B.C.<sup>132</sup>

Thus, although the sphinx follows Achaemenid prototypes, it certainly dates from a time after the collapse of the Persian Empire. The mold used for the image is not of Achaemenid origin. The use of a frame is in itself interesting and clearly shows that the mold was usually used for the making of small metal appliques. Appliques of this type look back on a long tradition. Gold-sheet plaques as early as the first half of the sixth century with several pictorial fields have been found, for example, in Delphi<sup>133</sup> and in Asia Minor.<sup>134</sup> In later centuries, small, framed metal appliques are known to us from numerous Scythian-nomadic burials in the area between the northern coast of the Black Sea and the Pazyryk tombs in the Altai.<sup>135</sup>

Despite the numerous Scythian appliques from the fourth and third centuries B.C. found in northern Pontic kurgans, the number of rectangular examples framed by an astragal or by beading is limited, and only in contexts from the late fourth or early third century do we find an astragal.<sup>136</sup> There are no other rectangular, framed metal appliques with an astragal known to me at present from the Hellenistic Orient, but there are examples with a beaded frame from the Oxus Treasure.<sup>137</sup> The astragal ornament is also to be found on heart-shaped ornamental plaques for belt buckles from the Iranian or Afghan-Pakistani area.<sup>138</sup> Finally, there are sphinxes on

small terracotta plaques from Nippur in Mesopotamia<sup>139</sup> and even from Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>140</sup> These examples are clearly inlays for furniture.

The use of the sphinx on our prometopidion becomes clear against the background of the finds in western Scythian contexts. Sphinxes are to be found there on all types of monuments, on gold appliques<sup>141</sup> and gold jewelry,<sup>142</sup> and even on one of the typical Scythian vases.<sup>143</sup> Following the Greek sphinx tradition, the figures usually depict the female type, whereas the Achaemenids preferred the male variety (fig. 13). The sphinxlike creature depicted on a textile from Pazyryk is also male.<sup>144</sup> In Parthian times, the dominant type in Iran, Bactria, and India seems to have been the female variant, usually with clearly defined breasts.<sup>145</sup>

The hairstyle of the sphinx on our prometopidion suggests a male sphinx—the necklace does not carry any weight in such a determination in the Orient.<sup>146</sup> The Achaemenid royal sphinx with a crown is generally depicted with a beard. The meaning may thus correspond to its Egyptian ancestors in which this is intended as a symbol of royal strength. The only exception to this is the crowned but beardless sphinx on an appliqué from the Oxus Treasure which, on the basis of this detail, should be dated to post-Achaemenid times.<sup>147</sup>

As we have seen, there was, in addition to the Achaemenid royal sphinx, a beardless variant without crown,<sup>148</sup> which, on the basis of the hairstyle, must also be identified as male.<sup>149</sup> Since the sphinx image on the prometopidion follows Achaemenid tradition, we can see it as a follower of this group of beardless male sphinxes.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, as in the case of the group with an attacking animal, the interpretation of the sphinx on the prometopidion is unclear.

*Siren.* The center of the prometopidion is decorated with a siren, now partly missing. The preserved parts are sufficient to permit a reconstruction almost in full. Despite its Hellenistic dating and provincial workmanship, the type of the siren is based closely on the well-known handle attachments with sirens on Greek bronze hydriai from the fifth century B.C. (fig. 14).<sup>151</sup>

The shape of the wings<sup>152</sup> and the plumage on the body<sup>153</sup> are typical, and parallels can be cited for the long pendant braids, even if those of the “originals” are more lively.<sup>154</sup> The hairstyle with the diadem-like band is unusual, although head ornaments can be found on other Greek examples.<sup>155</sup> A new and unusual feature is the accentuation of the female breast with nipple.<sup>156</sup> Parallels for the use of a necklace can be found on Greek siren handle attachments.<sup>157</sup>

The scrolls demonstrate the close relationship of



FIGURE 14. Bronze handle of a hydria from Thebes, fifth century B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the composition to older models, although the “originals” usually have more volutes. The greater liveliness of the vegetal ornament on compositions from the fifth century B.C. is unmistakable. Nevertheless, even details like the raised dots in the centers of the volutes,<sup>158</sup> the pointed tips between the two volutes of the lower pair, and the small, stiff palmettes under the wings of the siren recur in a very similar form, as does the pendant palmette.

Since the siren handle attachment with stylized, nonvegetal scrolls was no longer used in the fourth century,<sup>159</sup> the silversmith who made the prometopidion must have followed a model that was possibly two hundred years old.

A great many examples can be cited to document the popularity of the frontal winged creatures in the northern Pontic-Scythian area; among them are bronze vessels of the fifth century B.C., which have sometimes

been found in much later contexts.<sup>160</sup> The many representations of “female scroll figures”<sup>161</sup> can be added to the group of actual siren motifs from this area.<sup>162</sup> If we are justified in equating the “female scroll figure” with the figure of the siren in Scythia, then it is possible that these representations are related to the half-animal, primeval mother of the Scythians and nomads.<sup>163</sup> To my knowledge, there are no known pre-Hellenistic examples from central Asia,<sup>164</sup> but formally related birdlike creatures can be found in Parthian contexts<sup>165</sup> as well as in Sasanian,<sup>166</sup> Afghan,<sup>167</sup> and even Indian art.<sup>168</sup>

Thus, in contrast to the decorative motifs of the phalerae, only the animal group with the eagle and stag on the prometopidion can be identified as an iconographic theme typical for central Asia, though only in terms of meaning, not of iconographic form. The Achaemenid sphinx as well as the sirens derived from fifth-century Greek types are encountered far more often in the west Scythian area. A nomadic, non-Greek, and non-Achaemenid interpretation was most likely responsible for the spread of the motif. In addition, the sphinx and birdlike creatures are also to be found in later Parthian contexts.

The combination of the three motifs on a Seleucid-Greek prometopidion could be explained by supposing a Parthian patron who selected the motifs according to traditional nomadic ideas. According to Hellenistic representations, a date in the late third or early second century seems likely. This prometopidion remains formally nevertheless an exception among central Asian horse trappings.

## HARNESS MEDALLIONS

Three round silver medallions with small female busts in low relief and a rim bent toward the back can also be identified as harness ornaments (nos. 27–29). Settings for the decorative disks worked of thin sheets of silver are now lost, as evidenced by two repair holes on one of the pieces (no. 27).<sup>169</sup> The new rivets hammered through the silver undoubtedly replace an older arrangement for attaching the medallion that was part of the lost setting.

Since early Hellenistic times, small silver or bronze disks decorated with heads or busts had often served as ornaments for the crossed harness bands on a horse's head.<sup>170</sup> Medallions of this type are also to be found on couches, or klinai,<sup>171</sup> and sarcophagi,<sup>172</sup> but such use can be discounted for the examples under discussion since the eyes on the back needed for attaching them to the harness can be reconstructed. The two holes to the right

of the woman's head on the one example (no. 27) allow for two different possible reconstructions of the way the disks were attached. One possibility is that, given the small space between the rivets, there were two small eyes through which one thicker cord could be pulled.<sup>173</sup> Since the medallion would have twisted if fastened to only one cord, we must assume that—similar to the phalerae—there was a third eye for securing the medallion. This solution is on the whole unsatisfactory, however, since it would imply the use of cords instead of straps.

More likely is the use of a single, large loop placed crosswise on the disk,<sup>174</sup> which would mean that the strap ran vertically through the loop. Whether the loop was large enough so that both straps could be inserted at a cross point or whether the ornamental disks were only attached to the strap that ran along the horse's head cannot be decided.<sup>175</sup> In any case, the female heads that decorate the medallions were correctly oriented by the natural position of the horse's head. We can assume for reasons of symmetry that there was at least one and possibly even three more examples for a complete set of four or six (figs. 8, 10).

Up to now, decorative harness medallions with heads or busts have not been documented before early Hellenistic times, although this may be simply a matter of chance.<sup>176</sup> Examples have been found in South Russia,<sup>177</sup> in Elis in the Peloponnese,<sup>178</sup> in Tarentum,<sup>179</sup> and also in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>180</sup> The Getty medallions make it possible to trace this particular type of ornament in the Hellenistic Near East.

In spite of the modest quality of the pieces, it is possible to determine that they were made by different craftsmen, drawing on the evidence of certain artistic misunderstandings. One of the pieces, for example, depicts a bust with a sketchily portrayed himation pulled over the shoulders (no. 27); on the second there is no indication of drapery (no. 29), and finally there is no bust at all on the last example (no. 28). Although these differences may not be regarded as conclusive arguments for different hands, the misunderstandings evident in the execution of the earrings do establish the point with certainty. One example depicts disk earrings with long, pyramid-shaped pendants (no. 27).<sup>181</sup> The hair hanging down on the neck is clearly distinguished from the jewelry. On the other two medallions, the pyramidal pendants have been misunderstood as curls (no. 29) or have been entirely omitted (no. 28). The original Greek earring type was familiar to only one silversmith, or he at least copied faithfully what he found on his model. The division of labor observed for

the large phalerae can also be inferred here for the medallions.<sup>182</sup>

The earrings permit us to establish a terminus post quem for the original of the Getty medallion. The pendant pyramids with the point hanging downward are surprisingly long in comparison with the size of the disk, much longer than on examples from the fourth century B.C.<sup>183</sup> If the silversmith of no. 27 produced a faithful copy, then the original itself can scarcely be dated earlier than the middle of the third century B.C. Consequently, as in the case of the prometopidion (no. 26), these harness ornaments cannot be dated earlier than the later third century. As representations of prometopidia like that in Malibu show, this type was used along with small ornamental disks or medallions (figs. 8, 10). Because the prometopidion and the ornamental disks were acquired at the same time, we may conclude that the pieces originally belonged together.

#### HORSE TRAPPINGS: SUMMARY

Before we turn to the other groups of objects in treasure I, we should look once again briefly at the cultural and historical significance of the trappings as a whole. As the phalerae show, their former owners were in all likelihood Parthians. The representations of attacking animals on the phalerae are based on Greek compositions with a few, clear elements of the animal style and with reflections of Achaemenid details. The ties to central Asia are also more marked here than are the parallels to the west Scythian area.

The classification of these pieces has been confirmed by the prometopidion of a Hellenistic-Seleucid type, which shows on the one hand a sphinx in Achaemenid style and on the other hand the scene of the eagle attacking a stag, a typical central Asian motif. The siren in the center is based on an original of the fifth century.

Only an area under Seleucid as well as under nomadic central Asian influence can be regarded as the place of origin for the horse trappings. The area that most closely fulfills these conditions is northwest Iran (the former satrapies of Parthia and Hyrcania), which was occupied by the Parthians in the decade between 240 and 230 B.C.<sup>184</sup> In the course of the second century, the entire area of western Iran came under Parthian domination. The analysis of the silver vessels in treasure I will provide further confirmation for this attribution.

#### SILVER BUST OF A WOMAN

The Near Eastern provenance of the objects already discussed is not contradicted by the small (about 4.5 centimeters high) relief bust of a woman with a Greek coiffeur and a diadem (no. 37). Her mantle is pulled up over the back of her head and falls forward over her shoulders and over the chiton, which has a border. As the gilded parts show, the inside of the veil-like cloak is supposed to be a different color than the outside. The head is shown frontally, the seeming turn of the head a result of the metal's being somewhat bent in the current state of preservation. The slight smile may also have been intensified by this fact. In an undamaged state, the head and the entire bust were strictly frontal.

Frontal busts are not the rule on Hellenistic medallions, but they can be found in different parts of the Hellenistic world.<sup>185</sup> The almost complete symmetry of the relief on our piece, broken only by the slight modification of the folds on the shoulders, is nevertheless an exception. This can be attributed among other things to the quality of the workmanship, for though it is careful even in the fine, dotted scroll on the diadem,<sup>186</sup> it does reveal deficiencies in the handling of proportions.

The almond-shaped, wide-open eyes are striking and recall the busts on the small medallions (nos. 27–29). It is possible that this is an early example of a characteristic that later becomes typical for Parthian or Palmyran sculpture.<sup>187</sup>

The bust, open at the bottom, is not to be thought of as a vessel medallion,<sup>188</sup> nor does the background of the relief form a complete circle. The small, high-standing relief must have been affixed upright. One possible use may have been on the fulcrum or leg of a kline.<sup>189</sup> A bronze bust of Ptolemy I from Tarentum<sup>190</sup> is similar in shape and was found with a set of horse trappings.<sup>191</sup> A similar use for such a piece with a set of harnesses is possible but not certain.

An approximate chronological framework for the silver bust is provided by the details of the drapery, in particular by the chiton with a border. A chiton of almost exactly the same type and with deep folds appears on the Great Frieze of the Pergamon altar.<sup>192</sup> The fashion is also attested for Hellenistic Iran.<sup>193</sup> A far more animated bust of a woman of the early Imperial period in Petra still reflects this fashion.<sup>194</sup>

Also from about 200 B.C. are the fragments of a silver rhyton of the Parthian-Seleucid type with a calyx of leaves, found at Merdzany near Anapa on the Kuban Peninsula. The rhyton depicts a goddess on a throne (fig. 15).<sup>195</sup> The piece, of quite modest workmanship, is



FIGURE 15. Detail of the figural frieze on a rhyton from Merdzany, Kuban Peninsula, late third or second century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1876, 1/9.

very closely related to that in Malibu—not only in the hieratic frontality of the bust but in the vertical folds of the cloak and chiton and even in the depiction of a wide border on the latter. We can assume that the rhyton is closely based on a Near Eastern original, if it is not to be regarded as an import.<sup>196</sup> The detail of the cloak pulled up over the head and then falling over the shoulders can be documented moreover for the Syro-Mesopotamian region on terracottas<sup>197</sup> as well as on reliefs<sup>198</sup> between the second century B.C. and Imperial times.

The hairstyle with the hair first laid horizontally across the forehead and then pulled back on the sides is unmistakably related to the hairstyles on the Great Frieze from Pergamon.<sup>199</sup>

The small silver bust should consequently be dated to the second century B.C.

## DECORATED VESSELS

The metal vessels of treasure I are of several different types, but they are all worked without a foot and without a base ring. With the exception of a small bowl with one handle (no. 19), three deep conical bowls (nos. 22–24), and two small undecorated bowls (nos. 20, 21), the vessels are of the widely distributed calotte type with decorated interiors. Only no. 1 has a small ornamental frieze on the exterior.

The shallow profile of the vessels is already known from pre-Hellenistic times, and it must be regarded as Near Eastern in origin in spite of its wide distribution in the Hellenistic world. Besides pre-Achaemenid examples,<sup>200</sup> reference can be made to vessels from Achaemenid and Hellenistic Iran.<sup>201</sup> In comparison to the often richly decorated Hellenistic bowls, these ancestors are frequently decorated only in the interior. In Hellenistic times we often find a small ornamental medallion in the center framed by tendril friezes or other decorative zones at varying intervals. Although vessels with leaf calyxes in the centers are already known from pre-Hellenistic times,<sup>202</sup> they vary considerably in details from their younger counterparts.

Although similar bowls are known from Magna Graecia (fig. 16)<sup>203</sup> as well as from Ptolemaic Egypt,<sup>204</sup> the Malibu bowls with their tendril decorations form a special group with several scattered pieces for which an Iranian provenance is usually cited. A bowl in private possession in Switzerland (fig. 17A–B)<sup>205</sup> bears the emblem of the anchor and dolphin found on the Getty phialai. As is the case with a bowl in Hamburg (fig. 18), the piece is supposed to have come from Luristan in southwest Iran.<sup>206</sup> The pair was reportedly found with a bowl that is now in private possession in Germany. The latter shows a mounted Parthian in a medallion framed by a scroll.<sup>207</sup> The horse is wearing large phalerae of the type already discussed. Another bowl in the British Museum is also supposed to have an Iranian provenance (fig. 19).<sup>208</sup> Here we can also mention a silver bowl in Boston,<sup>209</sup> which is a companion piece to no. 10 in the Getty collection. The Iranian provenance is again corroborated by the Greek inscription beneath the rim, giving the Iranian name Artaxesas, most likely the owner.

In that connection, two almost undecorated bowls should be added, which were allegedly found in Mazandaran.<sup>210</sup> The shallow profiles immediately resemble the shape of the Getty bowls and even the guilloché beneath the rim finds a parallel on no. 5.

The attribution of the whole group to the Parthian, formerly Seleucid area is also confirmed by the Aramaic weight inscriptions on some of the bowls (nos. 2, 13, 14, 15) and by narrow bands of stepped embattlements (nos. 4, 6, 7, 9–11), an ornament that has its roots in Achaemenid architectural tradition.<sup>211</sup>



FIGURE 17A. Silver bowl, reported to be from Luristan, late second or early first century B.C. Switzerland, private collection.



FIGURE 16. Silver bowl from Magna Graecia, late third or early second century B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.19.

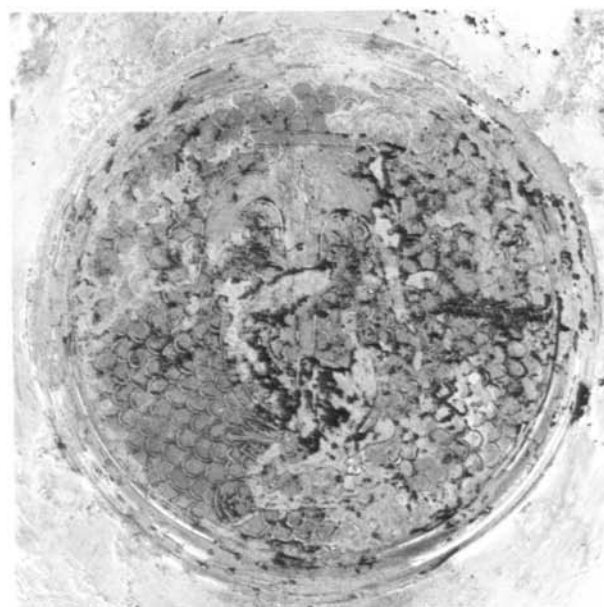


FIGURE 17B. Detail of figure 17A.





FIGURE 18. Silver bowl, reported to be from Luristan, late second or early first century B.C. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1969.113.



FIGURE 19. Silver bowl, reported to be from Iran, late second or first century B.C. London, British Museum 134303.

#### ANCHOR AND DOLPHIN: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The center decoration or medallion on the Malibu bowls is either a feather scale ornament (nos. 1–3, 9–12) or a small leaf calyx (nos. 4–8). In addition, three of the bowls bear the motif of an inverted anchor with a dolphin curled around it on feather scale medallions (nos. 1–3, fig. 20A–C).<sup>212</sup>

Although the calyx is very frequently used on Hellenistic bowls as a central ornament, the motif of the anchor with dolphin is rare and must not be confused with the motif of the dolphin and trident.<sup>213</sup> Apart from the Getty bowls, among the few examples of this motif known to me is a bowl in private possession said to be from Luristan (figs. 17A–B, 20D),<sup>214</sup> a few coins from Susa from the late second century B.C., minted under the Parthian king Mithridates II (123/2–92/1),<sup>215</sup> as well as coins issued by the Indo-Greek king Nikias in the first century B.C. (fig. 21C).<sup>216</sup> In addition, there are four representations on Delian mosaics from the second half of the second century B.C. (fig. 21D).<sup>217</sup> At least one of these pavements is from a house that was owned by a Syrian.<sup>218</sup> Of no relevance to our anchor and dolphin medallions, however, is a coin issued in Alexandria under Domitian<sup>219</sup> and the use of a related motif in an early Christian context.<sup>220</sup>

Although our monuments are scattered from the Aegean to Pakistan, they cover a surprisingly short period of time. The Delian mosaics date from the second half of the second or the earliest years of the first century B.C. at the latest, roughly the same time as the reign of Mithridates II. Finally the Indo-Greek king Nikias struck his coins in the seventies of the first century B.C. It is tempting to assign the silver bowls to the same period, but it will be demonstrated that they belong to different groups.<sup>221</sup>

The orientation of the fish on the bowls shows that the anchor is depicted inverted, just as it is on numerous Seleucid coins.<sup>222</sup> The inverted anchor is used on the Indo-Greek coins mentioned, and it recurs on the coins struck for Mithridates II in Susa, but not on the mosaics from Delos.

As we know, the choice of the anchor as a royal Seleucid insignia is based on the legends of the divine origins of the Seleucid dynasty's founder: Apollo is supposed to have left the mother of Seleucus a ring with the image of an anchor as a sign of his fatherhood.<sup>223</sup> A great many representations of anchors appear on the seals of Seleucid officials,<sup>224</sup> on lead weights from the Seleucid realm,<sup>225</sup> and especially on Seleucid coins (fig. 21A–B).<sup>226</sup>

The type of anchor on one of the Malibu phialai (fig. 20A) corresponds rather closely to anchors on Seleucid coins of Seleucus I (301–280 B.C.) (fig. 21A).<sup>227</sup>



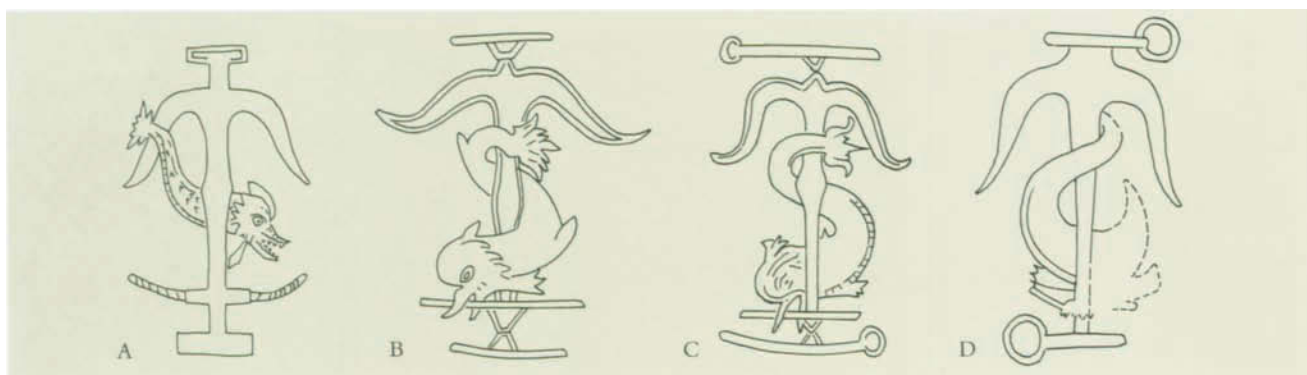


FIGURE 20A–D. Anchor and dolphin on silver bowls of late second or first century B.C. A: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.84.1 (cat. no. 1). B: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.84.2 (cat. no. 2). C: Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.84.3 (cat. no. 3). D: bowl in private possession (see fig. 17B and note 205). Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

and on issues of the first reign of Demetrius II (146/5–144 B.C.) (fig. 21B),<sup>228</sup> in contrast to the motif found on the Delian mosaics (fig. 21D). The remaining two Getty bowls (fig. 20B–C) also show the anchor with the bulging center so typical of the representations on Seleucid coinage but with a different construction of the horizontal elements above and below the anchors. The lobes attached to these horizontal elements on bowl no. 3 and on the Luristan bowl (fig. 20D) also recur on Seleucid coins. The huge hooks typical of the anchor on the Luristan vessel and bowl no. 1 are likewise represented. Even the widespread hooks on no. 2 find a rare parallel on Seleucid coins of Seleucus I.<sup>229</sup> It remains to mention that the bulging center is absent on the Luristan bowl, a feature that holds true, interestingly enough, for most of the Elymaen coinage of the Kamnaskirad dynasty, struck in more or less the same region.<sup>230</sup> If we sum up the evidence, it is all too obvious that while our silver-smiths did not exactly copy them, they doubtlessly referred to the various types of Seleucid anchors.

In view of the cult of Apollo that was so essential to the Seleucids and which finds expression above all in their coinage,<sup>231</sup> and in view of the worship of the god as Apollo Delphinios<sup>232</sup> in the Greek world—particularly in Miletus, to which the Seleucids had very close ties<sup>233</sup>—we could interpret the anchor with the dolphin as nothing less than a dynastic symbol: The sacred animal of the god of the Seleucid kingdom is curled protectively around the anchor, the symbol of the dynasty.

Even the Delian mosaic, which was found in a household with demonstrable connections to the Syro-Phoenician world, would be consistent with a Seleucid-Syrian interpretation of the motif.

Unfortunately this Seleucid interpretation is not

supported by other preserved monuments. Among the innumerable representations of anchors on Seleucid coins, clay bullae, and lead weights, there is not a single example of a dolphin curled around an anchor known to me. Consequently, there can be no doubt that this symbol was not a widely known, official dynastic emblem in the Seleucid world. On Seleucid monuments, we can cite only a few examples of representations of a small dolphin next to a large anchor,<sup>234</sup> just as another official symbol of the Seleucid ruling house, a horse's head, occasionally appears in small scale next to a huge inverted anchor.<sup>235</sup>

The above mentioned coins with anchor and dolphin were struck at a time when Seleucid rule over Iran and Pakistan was nothing but past history. The use of the anchor on the Elymaen coinage certainly reflects the

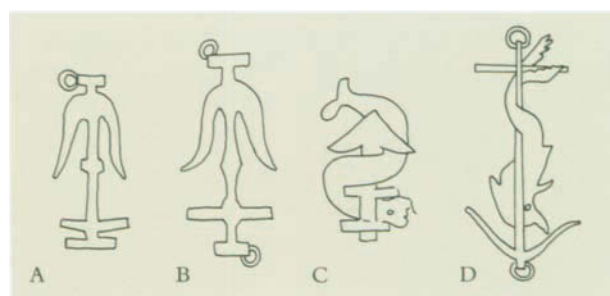


FIGURE 21A–D. A: anchor on a coin of Seleucus I (301–280 B.C.), collection of Arthur Houghton. B: anchor on a coin of the Seleucid king Demetrius II (146–144 B.C.), collection of Arthur Houghton. C: coin of the Indo-Greek king Nikias, circa 70 B.C. D: anchor and dolphin on a mosaic from Delos, late second century B.C. Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

claim to power of a local dynasty that deliberately used the anchor to refer to their former overlords. The use of the anchor seems to proclaim a formal linkage with the Seleucids. Whether the first use of the royal symbol was simply usurpation or an expression of an actual official connection between the two houses is hard to tell, but in the centuries that followed the collapse of the Seleucid Empire, the Elymaen Kamnaskirads maintained a certain independence within the Parthian Empire,<sup>236</sup> and the use of the anchor is attested for the Elymaïs even in the late Parthian period.<sup>237</sup>

If the anchor with the curled dolphin is actually to be understood as a purely Seleucid emblem, the unique issue of Mithridates II at Susa or the coinage of the Indo-Greek king Nikias could likewise be understood as a special political reference to the former legal lords of the Hellenized East. Nikias could, for example, emphasize his Graeco-Seleucid ancestors. Mithridates could proclaim that he considered himself and not the Kamnaskirads the legal successor to the house of Seleucus. The exceptional use of the anchor in the Parthian capital of Nisa or on coins of the Arsacid king Sina-truces around 70 B.C. could point in the same direction.<sup>238</sup>

In the case of our silver vessels, however, the use of an official Seleucid symbol is by far more difficult to understand. According to the Aramaic weight inscriptions, the owners of bowls no. 2 and no. 3 were Iranians or Parthians and not Greek-speaking descendants of former Greek settlers.<sup>239</sup> The weight inscriptions point to a date not earlier than the first century B.C.<sup>240</sup> That in a period of unquestioned Parthian rule over Iran silver vessels should carry in relatively large numbers a symbol that could only be understood as Seleucid seems unlikely, if the emblem did not at least offer at the same time a local interpretation.

A purely maritime interpretation for the inverted anchor on our bowls, so similar to the anchors on Seleucid coins, can be excluded on the basis of the geographical situation. For Hellenistic Parthia the reference to the anchor could hardly be anything but an allusion to the Seleucid house, because the anchor as a motif was never widespread in the Parthian-Arsacid repertoire.

In the case of the dolphin the situation seems to be different, however, for the dolphin can be seen as a nomadic symbol, and the Parthians were of nomadic, central Asian origin.<sup>241</sup> The fish is to be found on nomadic-Scythian monuments as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.<sup>242</sup> In the times that followed it was used as a gold-sheet appliqué and as a harness ornament and is to be found even in such details as the use of small

fins on bridles.<sup>243</sup> Even in the Oxus Treasure from Bactria there are representations of fish, among them an example over 29 centimeters long.<sup>244</sup> Also, the dolphin plays an important role in connection with various deities on the goldwork from the late Hellenistic or early Imperial tombs from Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan.<sup>245</sup> As demonstrated elsewhere, these finds show strong affiliations to nomadic central Asian (so-called Siberian) gold.<sup>246</sup>

The nomads of Pazyryk in early Hellenistic times sometimes had fish tattooed on their bodies.<sup>247</sup> In later periods there are portrayals of fish on textiles from the graves of Noin Ula in Mongolia<sup>248</sup> and, even more significantly, on Indo-Scythian gold jewelry that is more or less contemporaneous with the Tillya-tepe tombs.<sup>249</sup> The same is true of jewelry from former Greek Bactria.<sup>250</sup> On the jewelry as well as on the silver bowls the animal portrayed is the dolphin, although the animal was not part of the local fauna.<sup>251</sup>

The symbol of the dolphin continued to be used by the Parthians as well as by the Indo-Parthians, although scarcely any of the craftsmen or artists who in later centuries used the dolphin as an ornament for textiles, gold jewelry, or stucco ornament<sup>252</sup> could have been familiar with this particular animal. In contrast to the western Scythians, who had no special preference, the central Asian Saka-Parthian peoples must have regarded the dolphin in particular as their symbolic animal, although the reason why remains unclear.

If we assume that the anchor-dolphin emblem alludes to a historic event or situation, several interpretations present themselves for consideration. The combination of the nomadic dolphin and the Seleucid anchor could symbolize the Arsacid dynasty's conquest of the Seleucid realm and the Parthians' view of themselves as their legal successors.

In that case, the emblem would be more than appropriate for Parthian table silver. The use on the bronze coins minted in Elymaïs under Mithridates II could be interpreted as a special reference to the legality of Parthian-Arsacid power in this local kingdom, or the demonstrated association of the Seleuco-Kamnaskirad anchor with the Parthian dolphin could be interpreted as an expression of a special relationship between Mithridates II and the local dynasty. These assumptions are corroborated perhaps by the fact that anchor and dolphin were never again used on coins from this province.

We can only speculate about the historical background behind the anchor and dolphin motif. The basis for the development of the symbol of the Seleucid anchor and the nomadic-Parthian fish may even lie in

the earliest phase of Parthian rule, when Seleucids and Parthians came in contact for the first time. In the late third century B.C., after various struggles between the Seleucids and the Parthians, Seleucus II (230 B.C.) and Antiochus III (210 B.C.) were under a contractual obligation which stipulated that the nomadic Parthians were obliged to supply military contingents to the Seleucids. However, at the same time, these contracts evidently confirmed the Arsacid possession of the former Seleucid satrapies of Parthia and Hyrcania.<sup>253</sup> These contracts no doubt served a face-saving function for the Seleucids since they secured at least some recognition of their supremacy. The symbol could refer to some sort of formal alliance between the two dynasties. To determine the exact motive behind the conception of the emblem will likely never be possible. The options range from diplomatic contracts to interdynastic marriages.<sup>254</sup>

Whatever the Parthian or Iranian users of our table silver saw in the emblem, the composition demonstrates a considerable amount of respect for the old dynastic symbol of the Seleucids. This attitude is perhaps paralleled in the use of Seleucid motifs on Parthian coinage. Apollo sitting on the omphalos is replaced by the Parthian archer on the omphalos, and even special symbols like the Seleucid horse figure on Parthian coins.<sup>255</sup> This obvious desire for a certain continuity and the adoption or transformation of dynastic symbols grew perhaps in the long decades of coexistence between the rising Arsacid empire and the declining Seleucid realm.<sup>256</sup> It seems that the new lords of the Hellenized Near East deliberately used the old symbols to proclaim themselves as legal successors.

This interpretation of the anchor and dolphin emblem also makes possible a revised explanation for the bronze coins of the Indo-Greek king Nikias in the Hydaspes region (fig. 21C). Greek rule in the northern Punjab ends with this ruler and with his contemporary Hippostratos, under the attack of the Indo-Scythians, peoples ethnically related to the Parthians.<sup>257</sup> W. W. Tarn saw in the emblem a "maritime" symbol of a victory on the Hydaspes and regarded the anchor and dolphin, as did C. Picard, as a Phoenician symbol.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, the question arises as to whether this too is not instead a conscious reference to the symbol of Partho-Greek, or rather Partho-Seleucid, coexistence, giving visible expression to the last phase of balance between the nomadic intruders and an Indo-Greek sovereign.<sup>259</sup>

Even if we consider the anchor and dolphin as originally a purely Seleucid emblem symbolizing the patron deity Apollo and the royal house, the dolphin's nomadic connotation at the same time provided the

possibility of a special Parthian interpretation for members of the Parthian nobility. The same would be valid for the special coin issues of Mithridates II and Nikias.

Even for the Delian representation (fig. 21D) it is hardly difficult to establish a local explanation. It is not surprising to find a symbol of seafaring in connection with an animal sacred to Apollo, which also happens to be a sea creature, in the houses of merchants living on Delos, the god's sacred island. The explanation is undoubtedly similar to that for the trident or the rudder, objects that were occasionally also used in combination with the dolphin on the same mosaic.<sup>260</sup> At the same time, the possibility that the anchor was used in the mosaics as an allusion to the Syrian origins of the owner cannot be excluded. It will not have been more than an allusion, however, since the likelihood that someone would use a dynastic symbol, or a composition that could be understood as a dynastic emblem, without hesitation for a mosaic in a private house seems rather remote, even if such use were supposed to indicate a certain loyalty or association.

In view of the Seleucid symbolism of the inverted anchor and the nomadic connotation of the fish, especially the dolphin, this emblem on Near Eastern coins and silverware can be understood as reflecting the shift of power from Hellenistic or local dynasties to nomadic central Asian conquerors. These conquerors considered themselves the legal successors of the Greeks, proclaiming themselves friends of the Greeks and placing a high value on Greek culture.

## THE TENDRIL DECORATIONS

Besides the calyx systems in the centers of bowls nos. 4–7, the flower tendrils on vessels nos. 1, 8–11, and 13–16 form the other main decorative element of the Malibu silver. To facilitate an overall view of the varying details, the individual flowers and other elements of the tendrils have been assembled in a single chart (see p. 244). Other characteristics such as the profiles of the vessels, the use of small friezes of stepped embattlements, or the existence of inscriptions on some of the bowls are likewise incorporated. In addition to the Getty bowls, the chart includes bowls in other museums, in private collections, or from the art market.

The composition of the small source calyxes of the tendrils, the forms of the tendril ends, and the various flower types suggest an attribution of the Getty silver to three different groups. These groupings are corroborated independently by decorative elements like the crenelated friezes of embattlements, the profiles of the

bowls, or the use of Aramaic inscriptions—the latter almost exclusively confined to the third group.

There can be little doubt that the differences in concept, style, and execution of the individual bowls document different artistic workshop traditions. The archaeological interpretation of these groups, however, is open to question. Are the groups representative of different artistic provinces? Different but contemporaneous? Are they simply evidence of different artists, active at the same time in one single cultural area? Or do the decorations illustrate a real development in style and details, and is their significance consequently chronological? At least at the moment, these questions cannot be answered with certainty given our very limited knowledge of the Hellenized Near East.

On the other hand, the floral elements of the decorations link the first group almost certainly to early Hellenistic traditions, whereas the third group is dated by the Aramaic weight inscriptions not earlier than the first century B.C. Consequently, I prefer an expanded interpretation not only in terms of workshops but in terms of absolute chronology as well. In view of the insecure provenance of the vessels and on the evidence of retardataire tendencies in the Hellenized Near East that have been documented in the figural decorations on the horse trappings, I prefer to suggest rather broad limits of time for the individual bowls.

All of the vessels with scroll decoration at the Getty Museum (nos. 1, 8–11, 13–16) bear floral scrolls,<sup>261</sup> which found their way into Hellenistic art by way of the Macedonian repertoire at the time of Alexander the Great, a decorative repertoire that shows strong South

Italian influences.<sup>262</sup> Typical of these floral tendrils is the substitution of blossoms on winding stems for the originally undecorated volutes of the late Classical Greek scroll.<sup>263</sup> In this study the terms “tendril” and “scroll” are used interchangeably.

In contrast to the conventions usually observed for pure floral tendrils, there are also tiny spirals on a number of the Getty bowls. Although the spirals are not as important as the large spiral volutes of Italian spiral volute scrolls,<sup>264</sup> they nevertheless represent the adoption of a detail that was originally alien to the ornamental repertoire. The first signs of the development of such scrolls are found in the fourth century B.C., but most of these ornaments date only from the earlier Hellenistic period.<sup>265</sup> As a rule, the flower scrolls as well as the Italian spiral volute tendrils from Magna Graecia were “companion” scrolls—that is, the shoot that is necessary to fill an oscillation of the main tendril does not originate in an acanthus knot at the vertex of the oscillation but develops earlier and accompanies the main body of the tendril before ending in a flower or a volute (fig. 22).<sup>266</sup>

If we compare Macedonian and other eastern versions of South Italian tendrils in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., it is immediately obvious that the feature of the companion scroll was scarcely ever adopted, although it was occasionally used even in Hellenized central Asia.<sup>267</sup> Sometimes the two compositional principles have been joined, resulting in a mixed system, as can be seen from the Italianizing scrolls from the middle of the third century on the sarcophagus from Anapa in the Bosphoran kingdom (fig. 23).<sup>268</sup> Some of

FIGURE 22A, B. South Italian “companion scroll systems” of the late fourth century B.C. A: flower tendril (amphora, Naples, Museo Nazionale H 3219). B: spiral volute tendril (plate, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1613). Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.





FIGURE 23. Carved tendril decorations on a wooden sarcophagus from Anapa, first half or middle of the third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Gp. 1882.45 (from N. P. Kondakov, *CR* [1882–88], illus. following p. 74).

the shoots have been developed in the companion system, others follow the conventional tradition of Greek decorations.

The traditional Greek form was used for a number of the later pieces among the Getty bowls (nos. 11, 13–16). To these vessels can be added the plate with the representation of a mounted Parthian mentioned previously. The almost pure form of the companion tendril is found on bowl no. 1 with the anchor and dolphin. To this example can be added the bowl in Hamburg (fig. 18) and the one in a Swiss private collection (fig. 17A–B), the latter bearing again the anchor and dolphin.

One phiale (no. 9) is ornamented in a fashion that completely abandons the compositional principle of Classical tendrils (see fig. 22). The stems of the blossoms first develop forward and then curl back. From a typological view, an earlier stage of this motif is represented by another Getty bowl (no. 10) and its companion piece in Boston<sup>269</sup> on which this feature is to be observed in some sections of the scrolls. Finally, we can cite a bowl at the British Museum with a mixed scroll of the type already described (fig. 19).<sup>270</sup> The difference between these tendrils and floral scrolls of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. could indicate that such an early dating for the Malibu vessels can be excluded but an absolute date cannot be established on the basis of the system of tendrils alone, since once these systems became established in the repertoire they proved to be very long-lived. However, the use of the floral scroll

does point to an artistic province under Macedonian influence since these forms seem to have spread along with Macedonian expansion.

The scroll system as a whole is less relevant chronologically than details such as the form of the acanthus calyx at the beginning of the scroll or the way the scroll ends. For the development and relative dating of these forms, see the chart on page 244. In the discussion that follows, references to this chart appear as parenthetical citations giving the number/s of the flower type/s.

*In the early group*, the scrolls have been developed from acanthus calyxes that are almost late Classical or early Hellenistic in appearance (nos. 1, 10). The bowl in Boston is closely related.<sup>271</sup> The leaves on the sides of the calyx are shown in profile, a detail known from as early as the late fourth century B.C.,<sup>272</sup> as is the center leaf in frontal position with the bent tip (fig. 24).<sup>273</sup> Even the peculiarity of no. 1 in showing the bent tip of the acanthus leaf with a smooth instead of a serrate edge is already known from the Macedonian repertoire of the late fourth century B.C.<sup>274</sup> On the bowls the calyx now fills the entire height of the frieze, a feature that is typical for almost all of the bowls in treasure I and other related pieces.<sup>275</sup> Worth noting is the greater animation of the center leaf of the acanthus calyx in comparison with earlier examples.

The scrolls terminate in entwined flower stems on the companion bowls in Malibu (no. 10) and Boston, a motif that was already known in late Classical times.<sup>276</sup> In the case of bowl no. 1, the scroll ends with small shoots. Italian and Macedonian parallels from late Classical and early Hellenistic times offer at least similar solutions.<sup>277</sup> The ties to the early Hellenistic repertoire suggest a relatively early dating.

The anchor and dolphin emblem in the interior of no. 1 might suggest a date not earlier than the second century. At the moment, the group cannot be defined within close limits of time. The ties to the early Hellenistic repertoire and the lack of later details that define the middle and the late groups point to an earlier dating; consequently an attribution to the second century seems justified. A date in the earlier decades of the second, even in the later years of the third century, seems possible and primarily the emblem with anchor and dolphin can be used to corroborate an attribution to the second century.

*In the middle group*, both the central calyx and the ends of the tendrils have been modified (nos. 9, 11). The calyx now shows an ornamental form with a horizontal, continuous acanthus leaf with a beaded rib.<sup>278</sup> Behind that there is a small, stiff, upright leaf with a straight





FIGURE 24. Decoration on the gold larnax from the main chamber of the "tomb of Philip" at Vergina, Macedonia, late fourth century B.C. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum. Drawing by Tim Seymour after the author.

edge. It is framed by two short rolled tendrils of a form that might already have ancestors in the early third century B.C.<sup>279</sup> In contrast to the late Classical and early Hellenistic system,<sup>280</sup> the ends of the scrolls take on the form of long, narrow, entwined acanthus leaves.

To this group should be assigned the bowl in Switzerland (fig. 17A–B), an unpublished vessel in the London art market, and as a variant the bowl in Hamburg (fig. 18). The two Getty bowls vary so greatly in execution that the possibility of a common workshop can be excluded. What we are dealing with is a common repertoire concerning some decisive elements of the tendrils. The bowl with the irregular tendril (no. 9) corresponds with the Swiss phiale in the form of the calyx, but the end of the tendril still follows the convention of the related bowls in Malibu (no. 10) and Boston even though a different flower has been used. The tendril on bowl no. 9 further develops the features observed on no. 10 and on the other member of the pair.<sup>281</sup> Number 11 also belongs to the same stage of development as the Swiss bowl, although it is definitely not by the same hand.

The chronological framework provided by the anchor and dolphin emblem offers only a vague dating. We have to place the middle group earlier than the third one, which can be dated to the first century B.C. A date between the first and the third group in the late second or the early first century seems appropriate.

A few other bowls with a somewhat different scroll decoration also fit into the scheme developed here. The first of them is the bowl in Hamburg (fig. 18), which was supposedly found with the bowl now in Switzerland (fig. 17A–B). The ends of the tendrils, formed of long acanthus leaves, confirm the relationship of both bowls. The source calyx of the Hamburg bowl, however, is quite different. The small, stiff central palmette has a surprising parallel on a calyx cup from Santisteban del Puerto in Spain, which was buried around 100 B.C. (fig. 25).<sup>282</sup> An almost identical palmette can be found on a pebble mosaic in Ai Khanoum in Bactria.<sup>283</sup> The use of

this type of palmette was obviously widespread. The details point to a date in the middle or in the second half of the second century B.C. and demonstrate the internationality of the decorative elements.

The bowl at the British Museum (fig. 19) belongs to the context of the early and the middle group of treasure I and has a surprisingly stiff central calyx.<sup>284</sup> The early Hellenistic echoes<sup>285</sup> of the scroll ends confirm the attribution of the bowl, while the blossoms may testify to a different workshop tradition. A date in the later second or earlier first century seems to be an adequate suggestion.

In the late group the tendrils all rise from high acanthus calyxes totally different from those of the earlier groups. The middle leaves have been directly developed from the central veins of the lateral leaves. The ends of the tendrils, however, follow the scheme that is set up in the middle group (see chart, p. 244). In one case a wide slit under the middle leaf even recalls early Palmyrene ornaments (no. 13), but a similar calyx has already been found on a tabletop in one of the ruined houses of Pella, which was sacked in the year 168 B.C.<sup>286</sup> The development of interrelated central ribs into a three-leaf calyx is known on some pieces from late Classical times and is therefore nothing essentially new (fig. 26). The form of the calyx is nevertheless a new development in relation to the ornaments discussed here.

In addition, the tendrils of the latest group all have large, pointed shoots or ovaries emerging from the small acanthus knots on the main bodies of the scrolls (nos. 13–16). The feature is especially pronounced on two bowls (nos. 13, 14) and is occasionally to be found on earlier examples as well (nos. 1, 9, 10), but it is not documented in so marked a form and so often. The roots can be traced back to Classical scrolls,<sup>287</sup> and the feature, though of infinitely better quality, occurs on the well-known phialai of the second century from Civitella Castellana (fig. 27).<sup>288</sup>

The shape of the bowls from group three is deeper than in the earlier groups. According to its profile, one

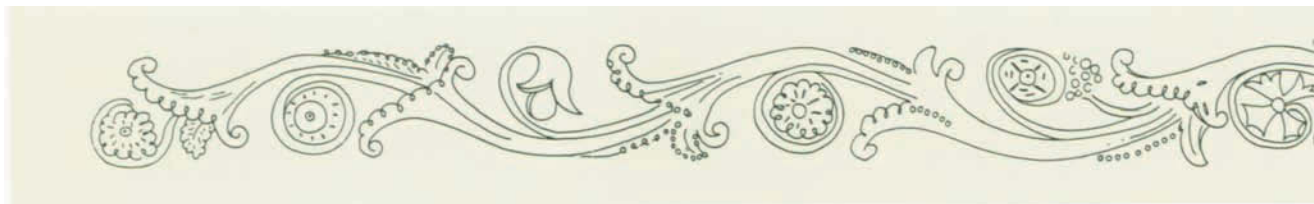


FIGURE 25. Decoration on a silver goblet from Santisteban del Puerto, Spain, late second or early first century B.C. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional 2844. Drawing by Tim Seymour after the author.

bowl with an anchor and dolphin emblem has to be attributed to the third group (no. 2).

The dating in the first century B.C. is given by the Aramaic inscriptions on four bowls (nos. 2, 13, 14, 15). According to R. Degen, bowl no. 14, like the lynx rhyta in treasure II, was signed by a silversmith with an Iranian name (see discussion on page 48). The trefoil frieze used on bowl no. 2 can be found on another damaged silver bowl with an Aramaic weight inscription of the first century B.C. (no. 17) that might be contemporaneous. The slender acanthus leaves at the end of the tendrils are attested in the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. on the stag rhyton in Malibu (no. 74).<sup>289</sup>

There can be no doubt that these four bowls (nos. 13–16) stem from a different workshop tradition since the stepped Achaemenid friezes of embattlements and the cruciform blossoms typical for other examples are

lacking here (types 2, 3, 38). It is also characteristic that the acanthus calyxes of the tendrils are always oriented toward the center of the vessel, in contrast to the opposite orientation in the earlier groups. Finally, none of these bowls with tendril decorations bears a central medallion. In this respect, the bowl with an anchor and a dolphin medallion (no. 2) represents an exception whose deeper shape and Aramaic inscription link it to the third group.

In our present stage of knowledge we should avoid setting too precise chronological limits. On the basis of the fairly well-founded dating of the third group in the first century B.C. or in the early first century of the Christian era at the latest, we should place the earliest group in the second, and the middle group in the late second or early first century B.C., still leaving the option that the earliest group could be confined to the first half of the second or even the later decades of the third century at the earliest.

#### FLORAL TENDRILS WITH IVY AND GRAPE LEAVES

Several details of the decorations, such as the central calyxes in the medallions, cannot be analyzed by way of the general composition of the tendril arrangement. Consequently, in this and the following sections we will focus on the other elements of the decorative systems.

One damaged bowl with a tendril ornament of very modest workmanship can be assigned roughly to the first century B.C. on the basis of its central calyx (no. 8).<sup>290</sup> Since there is no source calyx for the tendril, the decoration provides an example of the type of the infinite scroll. These systems are represented several times in the Hellenistic period—for example, on the phalerae from Fedulovo (fig. 3).<sup>291</sup> The frequent use of ivy leaves in the scroll ornament is worth noting. Although ivy and grape vines are used during Classical times in their own scroll systems, they appear in exceptional instances



FIGURE 26. Interior of a silver kylix, late fourth or early third century B.C. Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 2217.



in other tendril systems apparently not earlier than the third century B.C.<sup>292</sup> As far as I know, there are no examples of early floral scrolls with grape or ivy leaves.

Isolated ivy leaves and grapes are missing completely on the examples from the latest group (types 24, 44). The fact that these pieces stem from a variant-form tradition is documented by this feature as well (nos. 13–16).

The combination of ivy with flower buds, which is to be found on bowl no. 8, is represented on a bracelet from Syria that was discovered along with coins that can be dated no later than 128 B.C.,<sup>293</sup> but the central calyx of bowl no. 8 speaks strongly in favor of a first-century date.

#### SELEUCID ACANTHUS

A glance at the decoration on the bowls shows that, with a single exception (no. 15), the usual serrate Greek acanthus was not used here. Instead we find acanthus with rounded “serrations,” which, on examples of higher quality, are ordered in groups of three or four, analogous to the pointed serrations of Greek varieties.<sup>294</sup> The use of rounded serrations on acanthus leaves also has late Classical ancestors<sup>295</sup> and early Hellenistic prototypes,<sup>296</sup> like the motif on the gold larnax from the “tomb of Philip” in Aigai (Vergina) (fig. 24). It is especially typical of bowls in treasure I and returns on the lion rhyton of treasure II (no. 66).<sup>297</sup>

This Seleucid acanthus type is to be found as well on the masterly bowl from Civit  Castellana (fig. 27). Variants with only slightly pointed serrations are to be found in the Bactrian architectural ornament from Ai Khanoum.<sup>298</sup> Echoes of the Seleucid variety can be documented on a cup from treasure II and among the finds in treasure IV (nos. 67, 76).<sup>299</sup> In the West, this kind of acanthus leaf, so popular in the eastern repertoire, is little known.<sup>300</sup> Even the buildings erected during the time of Antiochus IV in Miletus and Athens used the pointed, thorny acanthus, which is also to be docu-

mented in the Near East (nos. 75, 76).

#### THE BLOSSOM REPERTOIRE

The limits of this study prohibit an extended survey of Hellenistic flower forms. This limitation is recommended as well by the sometimes mediocre quality of workmanship of the pieces under discussion. The following analysis adds little to the question of absolute chronology, because many of the blossoms follow simple types already known in the early Hellenistic repertoire and frequently used in the following centuries. In addition, the frequent misunderstandings of Classical and Hellenistic blossom forms that are to be found even on the best examples sometimes permit only a very general determination of the blossom type intended. More important, however, is the distribution of blossom types within the three groups of treasure I. As the analysis will show, group three again follows a somewhat different tradition and can be separated from the earlier vessels.

As the chart on page 244 demonstrates, some of



FIGURE 27. Silver bowl from Civit  Castellana, late second century B.C. Naples, Museo Archeologico 25285.



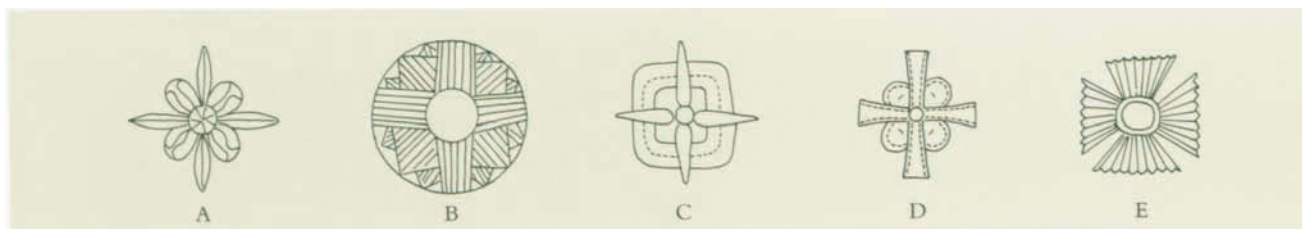


FIGURE 28A–E. Development of the Hellenistic Near Eastern crosslike flower type and its Achaemenid and Greek prototypes. A: flower from the tendril decoration of a Thracian pectoral from Varbitza, late fourth or early third century B.C. Sofia, Archaeological Museum. B: leaf calyx decoration on a late Achaemenid glass cup from Nippur. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Nippur B. 2349. C: flower from the tendril decoration of a Parthian silver plate, second

century B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.84.1 (cat. no. 1). D: flower from the tendril decoration of a Parthian silver plate, second century B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AM.84.10 (cat. no. 10). E: flower from a silver plate from Iran, first century B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AM.752.3 (cat. no. 72). Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

the forms are but vaguely related to others. In general, the chart shows that most of the vessels stem from different hands and in no way reflect a homogeneous repertoire or the production of a single atelier.

As far as similarities allowed, the flowers on the bowls from treasures II and III (nos. 66–68, 72) and from the stag rhyton (no. 74) have been included in the chart. As a superficial examination reveals, we are again dealing with different traditions and only in the case of three bowls (nos. 68, 72, 8) can we trace a very close similarity (type 46). If we try to put this in a more general perspective, it becomes obvious that the eastern Hellenized world was divided into a considerable number of workshop traditions, many of them linked in a retardataire way to the inherited early Hellenistic decorations. Other vessels, such as the pentagonal bowl (no. 72), reveal a repertoire that is connected with earlier forms only in a very few details and stands for a new Hellenistic tradition. Only in cases like this do the flowers offer some clues concerning absolute chronology.

#### LEAF CALYX BLOSSOMS

Two types of blossoms made up of several individual leaves can be distinguished. The first are the Seleucid cruciform blossoms (type 2, 3).

The flowers on the Getty bowls with their long, schematized leaves widening toward the tips can be explained by reference to a floral tradition that already existed in Achaemenid times (fig. 28).<sup>301</sup> This tradition, which flourished especially in Hellenistic decorations and even on a larger scale as an ornamental system on silver bowls (see fig. 30 and no. 72),<sup>302</sup> can still be traced centuries later on mosaics from Imperial Antioch.<sup>303</sup> The use of serrate leaf ends (nos. 5, 72, 74) may be drawn

from a tradition that already existed in the fourth century and was fairly widespread in the third century B.C.<sup>304</sup>

Types 2 and 3 are entirely absent in group three of treasure I but occur not only on the net pattern bowl from treasure III (no. 72), but in a very complex variety combined with a bud on the stag rhyton (no. 74; type 38). Although the general type can be compared, the cruciferous blossoms can be divided into several varieties. We can only state that the type seems to have been typical for many workshops in the Hellenized Near Eastern world. The idea—of combining the crosslike flower with small rounded foliage—might have been drawn from blossoms with long, narrow leaves interspersed with small rounded foliage, which are already known in the Thraco-Macedonian repertoire from the end of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 28A).<sup>305</sup>

We find blossoms, however, similar to this Macedonian variety on the pair of bowls in Boston and Malibu (no. 10; type 17), where the blossoms have broad, rounded leaf petals with narrow, pointed leaf petals standing upright in the interstices. Similar conceptions are repeated on other bowls (nos. 1, 11, 15; types 47–49), although the leaves in the background are sometimes more rounded.<sup>306</sup> It could be that the inspiration for this flower form, which was used widely in Hellenistic times,<sup>307</sup> is to be sought in late Classical blossoms with broad leaves and narrow tips in between.<sup>308</sup>

In the Hellenistic period examples are to be found on a metal bowl from Vani in Georgia<sup>309</sup> and from treasure IV (no. 76). Analogous compositions can even be traced among the early Imperial decorations at Petra (fig. 29).<sup>310</sup>

At least two variants are identifiable among these

blossoms. On pieces from the middle and early group of bowls, narrow leaves have sometimes broad rounded lower ends (type 17). These almond-shaped, schematized leaves call to mind the oriental bowls with an umbo<sup>311</sup> and the vessel medallions that developed from them.<sup>312</sup> Perhaps the Achaemenid form originally inspired this ornament, which would also explain the schematized character of the blossoms.

The silver bowl from Vani in Georgia differs somewhat in the formation of the narrow leaves, but the row of beads on the upper edge of the broad leaf petals of the flowers is closely related to the decoration on one of the Malibu phialai (no. 10; type 47). Similar is the blossom on bowl no. 15. The narrow leaves have lost their schematized form completely and now bear beaded center ribs. They no longer function as mere interspersed tips,<sup>313</sup> but are now real petals. The resulting composition corresponds to the large calyx on a first-century B.C. cup (no. 75) from treasure IV. A similar calyx composition is to be seen a little later on the metopes of the Qasr in Petra.<sup>314</sup>

A motif represented in all of the groups of treasure I is a leaf calyx blossom made up of three ivy leaves, a composition unknown in Classical times (type 45). On two of the bowls of the third group the individual leaves are bent slightly to the side, although there are no overlapping tips (nos. 15, 16). The greater flexibility of composition is possibly to be seen in relation to the typ-



FIGURE 29. Metope from the Qasr il Firaun in Petra, Jordan, late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. Photo: the author.

ical Hellenistic calyxes with leaves bent to the side (see fig. 43).<sup>315</sup>

The three-leaf compositions are abandoned in favor of a four-petaled variety on the pentagonal bowl from treasure III (no. 72; type 45). The idea of four leaves has already been used for the central calyx of bowl no. 4. This might point to a later classification of this bowl, but at present I am reluctant to accept the four-leaf scheme as a sufficient clue toward a late date.

#### ROSETTES AND PENTAFOLIATE BLOSSOMS

The rosette is related to the leaf calyx blossoms insofar as the rosette is actually the simplest form of small leaf calyx (types 52–64). There are examples with five to more than ten leaves on the bowls in treasures I, II, and III. Although the numerous rosettes on the latest bowls (nos. 13–16) are sometimes very sketchily engraved, they are often characterized as small leaf calyxes by central beaded ribs or veining.<sup>316</sup> It is not necessary to dwell on the simplest forms with rounded leaves. A precursor of the variant with a broad, retracted tip (types 54–57) is already to be found in red-figured vase painting in South Italy.<sup>317</sup> The same is true of the occasional depiction of leaf veins. A closer examination of the chart shows that the rosette blossom is represented above all in the third and latest group of bowls and on bowls from treasures II and III, which date in the first century B.C. The design also appears on the likewise late stag rhyton (no. 74).

Among these blossoms there are an unexpectedly large number of pentafoliate examples. Even in the leaf calyx center of a bowl there is a precisely worked five-petal rosette (no. 5; type 56). Such rosettes are occasionally to be found in Classical times as well,<sup>318</sup> but the surprising number of five-petal examples on our limited number of pieces can hardly be a matter of chance, and in fact we do find large numbers of pentafoliate blossom rosettes in the Hellenized East, even in Taxila,<sup>319</sup> and even on Gandharan sculpture.<sup>320</sup> The same applies to treasure IV (no. 76).

Five-petaled central rosettes are also to be found on a silver bowl from the Nihavend Treasure<sup>321</sup> and on a related bowl in Toledo (fig. 30).<sup>322</sup> Another pentafoil rosette appears on a shallow bowl from the Nihavend Treasure (fig. 31). From the eastern Mediterranean, we can also mention a bronze spoon from Tel Anafa in Israel.<sup>323</sup> Numerous blossoms on the Seleucid Civitella Castellana bowl were conceived on a pentagonal base (fig. 27) and architectural decorations from the temple of the lion griffins at Petra can be added here as well (fig. 32).<sup>324</sup>



FIGURE 30. Silver bowl, second century B.C. Toledo, Museum of Art 76.15.



FIGURE 31. Bowl from the Nihavend Treasure, Iran, first century B.C. New York, Brooklyn Museum 70.142.13.

As shown by rosettes of the first century B.C. or A.D. from Tillya-tepe in Afghanistan,<sup>325</sup> on a glass balsamarium,<sup>326</sup> and on a coin from Rhodes,<sup>327</sup> the leaves of this period are often depicted as overlapping, a feature that gives the flowers a greater plasticity. This detail also provides the chronological framework for a dating of a silver bowl from treasure IV (no. 76) and examples from treasure III (nos. 69, 70). The same can be recognized on the stag rhyton (no. 74) as well as on the phiale from Nihavend in Iran. How this motif spread, though, remains unanswered.

Despite the large number of pentafoliate rosettes in the latest group in treasure I, examples with overlapping leaves are lacking, but they occur on bowl no. 72. On the basis of the inscriptions, however, the bowls must be dated in the first century B.C. Again we are dealing with different traditions.

If we take the statistics at face value, the use of the pentafoliate type in the Near Eastern repertoire begins in scattered cases in the second century and increases significantly in the first century B.C. The distribution of this particular trend was thus hindered just as little by the expansion of the Parthian Empire as it was in the Afghan-Pakistani area by the collapse of the Indo-Greek world.

#### BUD FORMS

Two basic bud forms can be distinguished on the bowls, and both of them have their origins in late Classical times (types 25–40). Buds are part of the ornamental repertoire in all the artistic provinces under

Greek influence in the fourth century B.C.<sup>328</sup> As on numerous pieces in treasure I (types 25–31), Classical examples emerge from a calyx depicted from the side and made up either of acanthus leaves or of smooth-edged foliage. Some of the buds on bowl no. 4 (type 28) are closely related to the much older flowers on a wooden sarcophagus of the middle of the third century B.C. from Anapa in South Russia (fig. 23).<sup>329</sup>

On a number of examples, two small side shoots develop from the main calyx of the flower in addition to the long buds (nos. 4, 8–11; types 29, 30), a detail that is related to the more elaborate bud forms (type 32). The simple type is confined to the late and middle groups of treasure I.

The calyxes of the more elaborate forms are shown from the top, and the bud is given as if growing out of a second blossom (types 32–34). The stag rhyton depicts even more elaborate versions of this type (no. 74; types 35–38). The fact that this motif developed from the Italian multitiered blossom scheme is demonstrated not least by the small framing shoots or leaves that are clearly distinguished from the rounder leaves of the calyx (nos. 1, 4, 5; type 33).<sup>330</sup> The early Hellenistic, multitiered blossom compositions on which they are based are preserved for example on embroidered textiles from the “tomb of Philip” in Vergina<sup>331</sup> and on a silver kylix in the Louvre (fig. 26).<sup>332</sup>

The multitiered composition on the gold larnax from the late fourth century, found in the Philip tomb, is more abstract (fig. 24). Only the edge of the lower blossoms remains. This conception without small

framing shoots is retained until at least into the first century B.C. In the East it is documented not only on three of the late bowls in Malibu (nos. 13, 14, 16; types 33–34) but also on an architectural decoration from Ai Khanoum in Afghanistan.<sup>333</sup>

The repertoire of types from the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. underwent several modifications during the Hellenistic period. The bud can thus be either straight or bent;<sup>334</sup> sometimes it is depicted with the leaf petals at the tip completely closed, and on bowl no. 1 and on the London bowl (fig. 19; type 33),<sup>335</sup> it takes on the form of a turned shoot, a detail that is already to be found on the scroll of the goblet previously mentioned (fig. 25)<sup>336</sup> and was consequently known in the second century.

In addition, we can also sometimes observe the reduction of the number of leaf petals in the calyx of the multitiered compositions to three hanging petals during the second and first centuries B.C.<sup>337</sup> The calyx is also frequently shown with *nymphaea*-like leaves with retracted tips, a feature that is found only once among the latest group of silver pieces of treasure I (no. 14; type 34).<sup>338</sup>

Finally, in an interesting reinterpretation of two buds, on bowl no. 14 (type 33) the stalk grows into the tip of the bud and not into the lower calyx. This could simply be regarded as a misunderstanding but the buds on this phiale also are shown in their canonical form. There is another example of the “misunderstood” flower type on a tendril decoration of high quality from the first third of the first century A.D. on the temple of lion-griffins at Petra (fig. 33). We are dealing here possibly with a late Near Eastern variant of the bud motif. At the same time, this correspondence provides another



FIGURE 32. Tendril decoration with pentafoliate blossom from the temple of the lion-griffins at Petra, Jordan (erected shortly before A.D. 27). Photo: the author.



FIGURE 33. Tendril decoration with bud from the temple of the lion-griffins at Petra, Jordan (erected shortly before A.D. 27). Photo: the author.

clue toward a late dating of the third group of bowls, and it confirms certain relations between the scrolls in Petra and Seleucid ornamental tradition.<sup>339</sup>

#### OTHER BLOSSOM FORMS

Some other types require only a few short remarks. One blossom on the London bowl (fig. 19; type 31) may be related to an early Hellenistic type of *arazea*<sup>340</sup> and a thick bud form may be likewise seen in the context of late Classical formal traditions (type 30).<sup>341</sup> Blossoms that have only one pointed leaf petal emerging from an acanthus calyx (type 15) find remote parallels in Italian decorations.<sup>342</sup>

For other stylized flower forms such as types 12 and 13, definite ancestors can hardly be cited. The flower on bowl no. 11 (type 13) almost resembles a grape leaf on one of the ivory rhyta from Nisa,<sup>343</sup> but similar forms can be cited in the Italianizing decorations of the sarcophagus from Anapa (fig. 23).<sup>344</sup> That means, however, that the type escapes closer classification.

Another blossom represents a bud emerging from a leaf case (no. 9; type 39). Some of the earliest witnesses to blossoms of this kind are again to be found in the tendrils of the sarcophagus from Anapa (fig. 23)<sup>345</sup> and on a wooden Ptolemaic sarcophagus<sup>346</sup> that demonstrates close ties to Italian decorations; consequently we find parallels on an Etruscan temple,<sup>347</sup> and finally on a bowl from Magna Graecia at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 16).<sup>348</sup> This means that the “originals” of those decorations go back to the third century.

Other blossoms from the third group of bowls from treasure I (nos. 13, 14; type 41) can be provisionally compared with acanthus blossoms on the phalerae from Fedulovo (fig. 3).<sup>349</sup> Some examples are also known only from a few pieces. A variant of a palmette with an out-sized centerleaf (no. 5; type 5) could have been derived from a blossom like that in a scroll on a kylix in Paris (fig. 26).<sup>350</sup>

The precursors of the arazea variant with a long, curved budlike shoot on the Swiss bowl (fig. 17A; type 33) are also to be found on the Anapa sarcophagus (fig. 23)<sup>351</sup> as well as in a Pergamene ornament of the late third or early second century B.C.<sup>352</sup> In contrast to earlier examples, the plate no longer shows the shoot in the form of a bud. The bowl should belong to group two from treasure I and should date to the late second or early first century.<sup>353</sup>

The introduction of ivy (type 44) and grape leaves (type 22) into normal scroll ornament has already been mentioned.<sup>354</sup> Finally, we should refer to the blossoms with serrate leaves that form the scroll ends on bowl no. 9 (type 22). These are very close to flowers that are to be used on an Etruscan mirror of the third century B.C.<sup>355</sup> Even the overlapping at the end of the scroll is analogously formed. Again the decoration on the Getty bowl is considerably later, but the form of the flower might serve to document the dependence not only of the blossom scroll system but also of many flower types on the Italianizing Macedonian repertoire.

## FLORAL ORNAMENTS: SUMMARY

The outline provided here makes it possible to draw some conclusions about the repertoires of the different workshops. We are definitely not dealing with products from but one or two ateliers. Notwithstanding some similarities in the choice of details, even a comparison with the decorations from treasures II and III reveals only a few close parallels.

On the basis of the tendril system as well as on the background of the floral types, group three of treasure

I can be set well apart from the other two groups. As pointed out, group one should be dated to the second, group two to the late second or earlier first, and group three to the first century B.C. Only in the case of the third group from treasure I can the flowers provide some additional corroboration of the suggested dating.

Although the parallels come from distant regions, it is conspicuous that many of the ornaments seem to be based on early Hellenistic Macedonian decorative art with its influences from Magna Graecia. From the viewpoint of the Hellenistic centers, the repertoire is definitely retardataire. The choice of flower forms also speaks unambiguously for an attribution to the Hellenized Near East in the Seleucid or formerly Seleucid sphere of influence.

## GARLAND MOTIFS

Three garland variants are to be found on the Getty silver: the belted garland in the Classical tradition; a tightly wound garland that can be combined with the Seleucid repertoire; and, the primary focus of our discussion, the bound trefoil olive leaf garland.

*Belted garlands* (nos. 24, 30, 31) have their origins in Classical decoration,<sup>356</sup> and the replacement of some of the belts or cuffs by a wound fillet can be documented around 300 B.C.<sup>357</sup> Quite atypical for the Classical period, however, is the change in the garlands themselves—from a scale pattern, for example, to pointed leaves. The dating of this further development cannot be established at present. The use of a garland on the inside of a conical cup, as in the case of no. 24, has a parallel in a vessel that is supposed to come from Mazandaran (fig. 34),<sup>358</sup> thus providing a further argument for the attribution to an eastern workshop.



FIGURE 34. Silver cup, reported to be from Mazandaran, Iran, second century B.C. London, British Museum 134304.

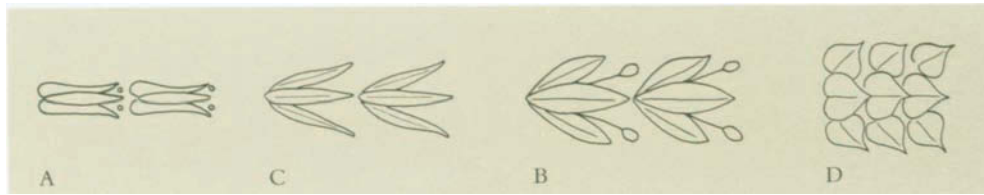


FIGURE 35A–D. Sketches of trefoil garlands. A: Attic red-figured lekanis, early fourth century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 1858. B: Attic red-figured pyxis, circa 400 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.122. C: architectural decoration from Seleucia on the Tigris, third century B.C. D: detail of a ram's head bracelet from the Thessaloniki region, second quarter of the third century B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.11–12. Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

The *tightly wound garland*, closely wound with a fillet or taenia, is only to be found on one bowl among the silver pieces from treasure I (no. 10).<sup>359</sup> The ornamental form is nevertheless to be regarded as a Seleucid-Parthian feature on metal vessels. It is used twice on vessels in the treasure from Nihavend (fig. 31)<sup>360</sup> as well as on a similar bowl in Toledo (fig. 30).<sup>361</sup> The variant is also represented with slight modifications on Gandharan reliefs.<sup>362</sup> Since the Getty bowl belongs to the earliest group, the development of the tightly wound garlands must already have occurred in the second century B.C.

*Trefoil garlands* appear on several bowls in treasure I (nos. 1, 2, 17).<sup>363</sup> Two of them bear the anchor and dolphin motif, one belonging to the earliest group (no. 1), the other to the late group of bowls (no. 2). The motif is represented also in treasure II (nos. 69, 70) and on the stag rhyton (no. 74).

The development of the trefoil scheme, as suggested in this study, stands in sharp contrast to the recently advanced theory that the earliest known example of this motif is to be found on a coin with the portrait of Eumenes II from Pergamon, allegedly struck around 170 B.C.<sup>364</sup>

There are numerous variations of the trefoil scheme, and although olive leaves<sup>365</sup> are often used, they are by no means the type of leaf that is always chosen. In addition, the ends of the leaves are often tied together with bands. The garlands on the Eumenes coin prove to be a modification as the center leaves of the groups have drawn forward and emerge from between the framing leaves,<sup>366</sup> and the three-leaf groups are not bound together. The coin is in no way the oldest dated example of the trefoil motif. In the following discussion, attention will be focused almost entirely on the olive and ivy variants of this motif. Other types will be cited only in exceptional instances.

The prototypes of the Hellenistic trefoil motif are

already to be found in Classical decorations (fig. 35A, B).<sup>367</sup> Whether these earlier examples also employ olive leaves or whether they originally depicted rows of flowers is a matter of no importance for our purposes. The loosely arranged trefoil garlands of olive leaves are encountered in the middle of the third century B.C. on a Ptolemaic silver cup<sup>368</sup> and a faience skyphos.<sup>369</sup> Two details still distinguish this developmental stage from that of the Getty bowls: First, the three leaves are not bound together; and second, the filigree-like tendrils are not yet shown with thick buds or fruits but are simply beaded, a feature that is already found in this simple form on the late Classical bifoliate olive garlands.<sup>370</sup>

Although this early Hellenistic stage is also represented on Ptolemaic faience pottery of the third century,<sup>371</sup> the motif is nevertheless not exclusively Ptolemaic. Trefoil garlands without buds or fruits are even found in Etruria,<sup>372</sup> and there are garlands with thick fruits from the Seleucid levels of Seleucia on the Tigris (fig. 35C).<sup>373</sup> In the Seleucid realm, the lack of the bound leaf motif so popular in later centuries supports the excavators' suggested dating in the earlier third century B.C.

The first appearance of the bound trefoil known to me is on a disk fibula, from a late third-century grave in Kerch.<sup>374</sup> The motif of binding represents most likely a borrowing from the repertoire of bound garlands of other types.<sup>375</sup> In the early second century, the same developmental stage is represented on shield ornaments on the weapons frieze of the Athena precinct in Pergamon (fig. 36).<sup>376</sup>

Three bowls (nos. 1, 2, 17) from treasure I and two bowls (nos. 69, 70) from treasure II along with the stag rhyton (no. 74) show the motif in its bound variety combined with the fine shoots bearing fruits as it is already known from Seleucia on the Tigris (fig. 35C). The monuments prove the long-lasting use of this garland and there is consequently nothing that speaks



against a dating of the earliest silver bowl (no. 1) to the second century B.C. A considerable number of Megarian bowls from Delos<sup>377</sup> as well as finds from Tarsus,<sup>378</sup> Antioch on the Orontes,<sup>379</sup> and from the areas of Hama<sup>380</sup> and Samaria<sup>381</sup> confirm the striking success of this innovation. It is also witnessed by the Seleucid coins<sup>382</sup> and by a large number of trefoil groups on other monuments in the Seleucid realm.<sup>383</sup>

Within the Seleucid (or former Seleucid) sphere of influence, continued use of the motif as an architectural ornament, known to us from the sima decorations of Seleucia, is demonstrated by examples with much more elaborate bound trefoil compositions from Petra,<sup>384</sup> Palmyra,<sup>385</sup> and Baalbek.<sup>386</sup> As far as I see, the use in an architectural context is not documented outside this area.

The bound variety was especially popular in the Hellenized Near East. It is still in evidence around the start of the Christian era on gold clasps and a golden pyxis from Tillya-tepe in Bactria<sup>387</sup> and on Bactrian textiles in Hellenistic style from Noin Ula in Mongolia.<sup>388</sup> Objects of Imperial date from the former Seleucid region must also be mentioned in this context.<sup>389</sup>

In contrast only a few examples of the trefoil motif are to be found on Hadra vases from Ptolemaic Egypt and they are usually not bound,<sup>390</sup> as is the case with a

bronze cup from the first half of the second century in Cairo.<sup>391</sup> Only in a late Hellenistic context are a few bound examples documented.<sup>392</sup> The introduction of the bound trefoil version therefore took place much later than in the Seleucid sphere. The bound trefoil motif was only introduced to Greece and the western part of Asia Minor in the second century B.C. and is usually only to be found in the special variant already mentioned.<sup>393</sup> The weapons frieze of the Athena precinct in Pergamon can be discounted as an argument in favor of a Pergamene origin since it depicts captured weapons.<sup>394</sup> Given the popularity of the bound variety in the Hellenized East, the frieze may possibly depict weapons captured by the Attalids, probably in the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.<sup>395</sup>

The bound trefoil garland cannot be considered Macedonian either. The only example known to me from high-Hellenistic times adopts the early Hellenistic form of the ornament.<sup>396</sup> Among the Megarian bowls from Delos<sup>397</sup> and from Alexandria<sup>398</sup> there is a bound and expanded variety with five leaves, a form also known in the Near East. It is to be found on gold-glass vessels from the Caucasus<sup>399</sup> and from Iran (fig. 37).<sup>400</sup>

On the basis of the objects cited here, their distribution, and their dating, we can tentatively attribute the development of the bound trefoil garland to Seleucid workshops in the second half of the third century B.C. Whether the disk fibula from the Bosporan kingdom, which is of considerable chronological importance, was a Seleucid import or local work based on outside models is a question that cannot be decided at the moment.<sup>401</sup>

The olive variant is certainly not the only variety of Hellenistic trefoil decorations. Already in the middle of the third century, we can trace a tight, garlandlike species with ivy leaves on a Macedonian bracelet (fig. 35D)<sup>402</sup> or on the "Rothschild goblet kantharos" with Italian ivy.<sup>403</sup>

The decoration on the ivory rhyta from the Parthian capital of Nisa<sup>404</sup> lies somewhere between these dense garlands and the looser type found on the Getty bowls. The examples from Nisa cannot be dated earlier than the second century B.C. An allusion to this looser type is possibly meant on some late Hadra vases,<sup>405</sup> although the garlands do not depict real trefoil groups.

The dense ivy variant without any binding is finally found on the lion rhyton from treasure II. The complex dates already to the first century B.C. (no. 66).<sup>406</sup> Here we are again confronted with the retardataire use of an early Hellenistic decoration on a late Hellenistic Near Eastern vessel. As a lynx rhyton in New York



FIGURE 36. Trefoil motif as a shield decoration, detail from the weapons frieze, sanctuary of Athena Polias at Pergamon, early second century B.C. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum. Photo: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung.





FIGURE 37. Gold-glass cup, reported to be from Iran, second or first century B.C. St. Helens, Lancashire, Pilkington Glass Museum 17204.

demonstrates, the use of the dense ivy variety was in no way an exception in the Hellenized East.<sup>407</sup> In the case of the lion rhyton, the only concession to later decorations is the taenia that holds the garland together with a huge stone-incrusted loop on the back side of the rhyton. Stone inlays are used also on the garland on the front side of the vessel.

A similar loop but without stones is used on the stag rhyton that could even date in the first century A.D. (no. 74). This might be seen as a corroboration of the late Hellenistic date of the lion rhyton but, like the garland itself, the motif of the huge loop is again to be found as early as the latest years of the third century on a silver pitcher with an oak leaf garland from Panticapaeum<sup>408</sup> and occurs again on a Delian tabletop of the late second or early first century.<sup>409</sup> Consequently, the ivy trefoil motif on the rhyton does not provide a clue to absolute chronology, and we are bound at the moment to date the vessel along with treasure II. It should be noted, however, that the garland would in no way exclude a date in the second century.

## FRIEZES AND BANDS

*Stepped Battlement or Crenellation Frieze.* The Achaemenid, pre-Hellenistic origins of this motif have already been mentioned.<sup>410</sup> The frieze is not limited to metal bowls and occurs in the mid-second century on a Seleucid bracelet from Syria.<sup>411</sup> The motif appears on five Getty bowls (nos. 4, 6, 9–11) and on vessels in Hamburg (fig. 18) and Switzerland (fig. 17A–B) but,

remarkably enough, not on a single bowl from the third and latest group of treasure I (nos. 2, 13–16; see chart, p. 244). This is certainly to be seen in relation to different workshop traditions and not in relation to chronology because the frieze is used on the lion rhyton from the contemporaneous treasure II (no. 66).<sup>412</sup> This already shows that the stepped battlement motif was not used consistently in all workshops in the Seleucid area of influence<sup>413</sup> and is but rarely represented outside this area.<sup>414</sup>

*Narrow Leaf Frieze.* The use of a miniature leaf frieze can be documented for the first time on a Ptolemaic silver cup from the middle of the third century B.C.<sup>415</sup> Two bowls in Malibu bear this motif (nos. 4, 5), although on no. 5 the band has been turned into a narrow leaf frieze with a leaf scale pattern. The wide distribution of such miniature friezes speaks against their attribution to a single artistic province. We can add an example on the bowl from Magna Graecia already mentioned,<sup>416</sup> and there is even a parallel in Spain.<sup>417</sup>

The similarity of the ornament on the Malibu bowls to the early Ptolemaic cup ornament could be seen as an argument in favor of an early dating of the Getty bowls, at least to the second century B.C. and even this date would bear witness to the already mentioned retardataire nature of eastern Hellenized silver.

*Interwoven Band or Guilloche.* The double interwoven band on bowl no. 5 is already part of the repertoire of early Hellenistic toreutic art and recurs on two Iranian silver bowls from Mazandaran.<sup>418</sup> The motif is used also on the phiale depicting a Parthian, which was mentioned previously, in a somewhat altered, provincial form and occurs in the interior of a shallow plate from Magna Graecia now in New York.<sup>419</sup> However, no conclusions as to chronology can be drawn from the motif.

*Wave Meander or Running Dog.* One of the most common Hellenistic decorative motifs,<sup>420</sup> the wave meander appears in somewhat clumsy and misinterpreted form on the silver vessels from treasure I—for example, on bowl no. 3, where the waves are not connected. The only information the ornament provides concerning dating or provenance is that it is seldom found on metalware from the late fourth or the first half of the third century B.C., although the ornament itself was of course known.

The motif is absent on the vessels from treasures II, III, and IV but returns on the lip of the stag rhyton (no. 74), giving again evidence of differences in preferences of workshops and offering no conclusions in view of absolute chronology.

## THE MEDALLIONS

*Anchor and Dolphin.* This motif, which is of considerable importance in both cultural and chronological terms, has already been discussed in another context in this catalogue.<sup>421</sup>

*Feather Scale Medallion.* No less than four bowls from treasure I bear this motif (nos. 9–12), and the scale background of the anchor and dolphin emblems could also be seen in the same context (nos. 1–3).

The difference in the quality of the workmanship is reflected in the rendering of the ornament. Only on nos. 9 and 10 are the scales properly placed in alternating rows, but even the open, cut-off leaves on the rim of the medallion on no. 9 are not satisfactory. The quatrefoil rosette in the center, however, is successful from the viewpoint of composition. The problem of finding an appropriate composition for the center of the bowl was avoided by the craftsman of no. 10 and the companion piece in Boston insofar as the circle framed by the garland is left vacant.

The scroll-bordered scale ornament must be regarded as the oldest decorative composition among the emblems on the Malibu bowls. It already appears in analogous form on Attic marble grave loutrophoroi of the late Classical period (fig. 38).<sup>422</sup> Here again we see the close relationship between the ornament on the bowl and the late Classical–early Hellenistic repertoire. It is worth mentioning, however, that the composition is known also on Megarian bowls of the second half of the second century B.C.<sup>423</sup>

## LEAF CALYX MEDALLIONS

The precursors of the elaborate Hellenistic leaf calyx ornament found on numerous metal vessels date from the fourth century B.C.<sup>424</sup> The roots of the ornament are to be sought less in toreutics than among large-scale decorations in architecture, mosaics, and painting. The transfer of these compositions to early Hellenistic metal vessels and the role of Ptolemaic craftsmanship in this process has been analyzed elsewhere.<sup>425</sup> The adoption of already fully developed leaf calyx systems into the toreutic repertoire led to the canonization of many of them in their original form even in early Hellenistic times, and they are therefore difficult to date on their own merits. For later periods it is often possible to establish the more recent dating only on the basis of details.

The bowls from treasure I illustrate only a limited selection of motifs from the Hellenistic leaf calyx rep-

ertoire. There are, for example, no complex acanthus leaf compositions with bent tips.<sup>426</sup> This limitation is, however, by no means typical for the Seleucid area or the Hellenized Orient as can be demonstrated with treasures II and IV (nos. 67, 76). The limited nature of the selection of forms does not necessarily bear witness to the provinciality of the workshops as to the ties of the repertoire to early Hellenistic times, a period during which more complicated calyx compositions were known but were not yet very widely distributed.

In view of the Ptolemaic contribution to Hellenistic leaf calyx compositions, we must also note here the absence of the characteristic *nymphaea nelumbo* leaf with the tip bent forward,<sup>427</sup> a motif that is quite typical for Ptolemaic and in general for Hellenistic toreutics, as can be seen on the silver plates from Magna Graecia in New York (figs. 16, 39). The drawn-in contour of the leaves near the top as it is to be seen in its beginnings on bowl no. 6 and in fully developed form on no. 7 can be traced in several variations in the Seleucid sphere (see chart, p. 244) and seems to have no connections in view of development with the Ptolemaic *nymphaea*.<sup>428</sup> The basic form was in our case most likely adopted from a rosette type known already from late Classical grave stelai.<sup>429</sup>

*Multitiered Ornaments and Simple Calyx.* Complex Hellenistic leaf calyx decorations usually show leaves in rows of increasing size, one behind the other—that is, they usually belong to the group of tiered calyxes.<sup>430</sup> The arrangement of leaves above and behind one



FIGURE 38. Decoration of an Attic marble funerary loutrophoros, middle or late fourth century B.C. Athens, National Museum (from A. Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 3 [Berlin, 1906], p. 369, no. 1736a).

another is already fully developed in the fourth century B.C. Three bowls (nos. 4, 6, 7) in treasure I follow this compositional principle, and only the craftsman of no. 5 chose such a small rosette for the center that we can no longer speak of a tiered effect. Calyx decorations of this type are also represented in treasures II and IV (nos. 67, 75, 76).

*Acanthus-Lanceolate Calyx without Flowers.* Long, lancet-shaped leaves and acanthus arranged in several tiers around a smaller calyx similar to a rosette are already to be found in the third century B.C.<sup>431</sup> In contrast to the greater number of early Hellenistic lanceolate-acanthus decorations, the leaves of the outer row of the calyx of one bowl (no. 6) stand singly, almost like the points of a star. For this reason alone an early Hellenistic dating seems unlikely. The upper contours of the leaves of the large central rosette calyx are more clearly drawn in than are those on late Classical examples<sup>432</sup> but not as strongly as on a phiale (no. 7) from treasure I. This early stage of development is still known in late Hellenistic times<sup>433</sup> so that it provides only a vague terminus post quem for the ornament.

The irregular beads in the center of the rosette on bowl no. 6 are already to be found on rosette blossoms in the first half of the second century B.C. in Pergamon and on a Syrian sandwich glass cup.<sup>434</sup> The motif is in no way limited to a special repertoire. It can also be found on Ptolemaic decorations.<sup>435</sup> The acanthus of two bowls (nos. 6, 7) follows the Seleucid type previously characterized (fig. 27).<sup>436</sup> There are precursors for the nonseriate, smooth form of the leaf tips even in the late fourth century B.C. (fig. 24).<sup>437</sup> Beaded leaf ribs and edges can also be documented in the early Hellenistic repertoire.<sup>438</sup> The central rosette is likewise given as a miniature leaf calyx with the aid of the leaves' center ribs.

Finally, in terms of chronology, a related calyx of better quality on a silver bowl of the late third or early second century from Magna Graecia, now in the Metropolitan Museum, should be mentioned (fig. 39).<sup>439</sup> The piece illustrates the wide distribution of this calyx system. The calyx shows two rows and is relatively dense, with acanthus leaves placed behind the lanceolate foliage.

The central rosette on the New York bowl does not follow Greek examples<sup>440</sup> but is based on the Ptolemaic *nymphaea nelumbo* leaf.<sup>441</sup> The two bowls, although they are from completely different artistic provinces, show both early and late features simultaneously. It would be a mistake to try to establish an all-too-narrow chronological relationship, but given the general situation already sketched, we can assume a dating in the sec-

ond century B.C. for the phiale in Malibu. It thus belongs to the earliest group of objects in treasure I.

*Acanthus-Lanceolate Calyx with Flowers.* On one of the most elaborately decorated pieces in treasure I (no. 5), the tightly spaced, two-row calyx with a tiny, five-leaf central rosette is in keeping with the tradition of the third century B.C. The center calyxes of Macedonian or Macedonian-influenced decorations on mosaics and reliefs are comparable.<sup>442</sup> Here as there we find lenticular, lancet-shaped leaves in the front row, arranged around a tiny rosette.<sup>443</sup> The acanthus with the beaded center rib is of the Seleucid type.<sup>444</sup>

The wide, spindle-shaped center ribs of the lanceolate leaves, twisted like a string, suggest in a way Ptolemaic metalware and faïences, although a Ptolemaic silver cup indicates that the central vein is meant as a narrow leaf.<sup>445</sup> The silversmith of the Getty bowl possibly understood the twisted central ribs to be simply a variation of the beaded rib.<sup>446</sup> The arrangement of the flowers might, however, be seen as another indication that the craftsman was familiar with Ptolemaic decorations, but the few preserved examples form too small a basis for a conclusive judgment.<sup>447</sup>

As the blossoms show, parallels can be drawn to the two earlier groups of bowls (nos. 1, 4, 5, 8–11; see chart, p. 244). The tiny rosette as a central motif on the bowl is also to be found, albeit in quatrefoil form, on one scale pattern medallion (no. 9). Based on our pres-



FIGURE 39. Silver plate from Magna Graecia, late third or early second century B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.21.

ent knowledge, I would suggest a date in the second century B.C.

Also related to this decoration is the calyx on the lion rhyton from treasure II (no. 66).<sup>448</sup> Again we find the Seleucid acanthus and the flowers on curved stalks between the tips of the acanthus and lanceolate foliage. Unlike the elaborately decorated bowl (no. 5), however, the lanceolate leaves are placed in the second row of the calyx.

This comparison underlines the difficulties in the field of absolute chronology. With the deplorable lack of datable material, we can only attribute the rhyton along with treasure II to the first century B.C. This could mean, however, that bowl no. 5 must be placed late. Or can we use the flower forms of the rhyton to build a case in favor of a second-century dating of the rhyton? For now we can only give an outline of the options.

*Ivy and Lancet Leaf Calyx.* We have already discussed the use of the ivy leaf in floral scrolls from Hellenistic times, which originally belonged to a different tendril system.<sup>449</sup> As treasure I shows, ivylike leaves were also used to arrange complicated leaf calyx ornaments as well as three- or four-leaf calyx blossoms (type 45). We can even cite a Hellenistic capital from Istakhr in Iran that bears this leaf form.<sup>450</sup> To my knowledge, this leaf motif is otherwise quite uncommon in larger calyxes or in an architectural context.

Closely related in terms of the composition on bowl no. 6 is the small calyx on bowl no. 7. In place of the acanthus, however, we find an elongated leaf recognizable from the veins as a variant of ivy. The lanceolate leaves on both bowls are comparable even in the rows of dots on the inside of the leaf. The same is true for the center rosettes with dotted core. They differ only in the degree to which the center leaves are drawn in. The dotted inner surface of the leaf shows that a bulging edge and an overlapping tip is intended. Leaves with comparable outlines are already found in floral ornaments of the third century B.C.<sup>451</sup> but are known to me as calyx decorations on metal vessels only on the bowl in Malibu. The stiff contours and the lack of a continuous bulging contour in the upper part of the leaves distinguish the rosette leaves from the nymphaea nelumbo of Ptolemaic Egyptian type as used on silver plates from Magna Graecia (figs. 16, 39).

In contrast to the calyx on bowl no. 6, the leaves here are placed coaxially above the foliage of the center rosette. This arrangement is no doubt derived from the late Classical–early Hellenistic motif of the small superimposed leaf.<sup>452</sup> What is new, however, is that both leaves, the large and the small one, are of about the same

width. This detail can be identified in its fully developed form on a bowl from Magna Graecia just cited (fig. 39). We can therefore assume that this leaf arrangement was known at least in the second century B.C.

Reflections of this conception of superimposed leaves can be recognized on a phiale (no. 4) and on another eastern silver bowl from treasure IV (no. 76).<sup>453</sup>

The version of the motif with the frontal, deeply drawn-in rosette leaf is also known in the East on gold jewelry from the Saka-Parthian strata at Taxila,<sup>454</sup> and a similar motif can be found on jewelry from Tillyatepe.<sup>455</sup> On the other hand, comparable motifs are documented in Corinth<sup>456</sup> in the second century B.C. as well as on a clay guttus from the Athenian Agora.<sup>457</sup> The acanthus with rounded serrations on this vessel clearly echoes the Seleucid type previously described.<sup>458</sup>

This motif therefore also provides nothing more than a terminus post quem in the second century B.C.

*Ivy Calyx.* The quatrefoil ivy calyx on another bowl (no. 4) is without parallel among the preserved large-scale leaf calyx ornaments but there is a parallel for the four-leaf arrangement on the pentagonal bowl from treasure II (no. 72; type 45). The ivy occupies the position of the nymphaea nelumbo leaf commonly found otherwise during Hellenistic times. Additionally the craftsman also arranged a deeply incised rosette leaf in front of the superimposed lanceolate leaves, a motif we have already seen on bowl no. 7. The scale pattern of the lanceolate leaves is in keeping with the Hellenistic repertoire of the late third and second centuries B.C.,<sup>459</sup> but the characterization and veining of the rosette leaf have been somewhat misunderstood.

The craftsman used less elaborate lanceolate leaves to separate the large overlapping ivy leaves. This arrangement of the calyx is known from the Hellenized East,<sup>460</sup> and it is also to be found on a silver bowl from Magna Graecia.<sup>461</sup> The wide distribution of this motif can possibly be explained with reference to a late Classical and early Hellenistic calyx and blossom composition.<sup>462</sup>

On the basis of the flower types—in spite of the late parallel for the quatrefoil ivy composition (type 45)—and in connection with the use of the small leaf frieze and the band of Achaemenid embattlements, we should combine bowl no. 4 chronologically with the earliest group from treasure I and attribute it to the second century.

*Lanceolate Calyx.* Bowl no. 8 with its cursorily worked, two-row calyx with lanceolate foliage in the first row and a beaded center almost certainly belongs to the first century B.C. The calyx with a rear row of non-

naturalistically beaded leaves finds close analogies on bowls from treasures II and III (nos. 68, 72; type 46).<sup>463</sup>

## UNDECORATED VESSELS

A *flat silver bowl* (no. 18) bears the only Greek inscription in the whole of treasure I. The bowl was once in the possession of a certain Bagenos,<sup>464</sup> and it is possible that the vessel comes from a different site. On the other hand, the thick, flat-rimmed bowl corresponds to the type represented by two decorated bowls (nos. 1, 10), and this undecorated example might therefore date to the second or early first century B.C.

The *conical cups* (nos. 22–24) are of a widespread type from the second and first centuries B.C.<sup>465</sup> that was known all the way from Pakistan<sup>466</sup> to Spain.<sup>467</sup> Examples are also known from South Russia,<sup>468</sup> from Thrace,<sup>469</sup> and from Greece.<sup>470</sup> The first appearance of these conical vessels without a foot and with a flaring rim cannot be determined with certainty but the Ptolemaic realm may have been a leading influence, for there are a considerable number of high-sided vessels without a foot from that region in the third century B.C.<sup>471</sup>

As shown by a cup from Akhtanizovka Stanitsa in South Russia from the early second century B.C.,<sup>472</sup> this type was already fully developed at that time. The sides of these vessels are more strongly flared than are those of the Ptolemaic vessels already cited and of Megarian bowls. As finds in Thrace and Spain show, the number of pieces with a smaller diameter increases significantly in the late second and first centuries B.C., and the profile is more conical in shape than with the Ptolemaic faience vessels of the third century B.C.

A cup with an atypical angularity of the side wall (no. 24) and another that has the same proportions but is decorated on the inside with a molded strip halfway up (no. 22) belong to the early group. One cup (no. 23) is higher and should be attributed to the later examples; this is in keeping with the chronological framework of treasure I. The Iranian origin of number 24 is emphasized by the garland decoration that runs around the inside. It can be compared with another cup in the British Museum that was allegedly found in Mazandaran in Iran (fig. 34).<sup>473</sup>

A small bowl or cup must have been found with no. 22, as is shown by a circular discoloration on the rounded base.<sup>474</sup> Cup no. 22 was therefore deposited with the mouth pointing downward.

The *small bowl with one handle* (no. 19), as is the case with the bowls without handles in treasure I, was worked with a rounded bottom without a base ring.

The few comparable vessels are distributed over such a wide area that their formal relationships cannot always be substantiated. Very close is a silver bowl in private possession in Frankfurt (fig. 40)<sup>475</sup> that is thought to come from northwest Iran. The simple rosette with the dotlike center provides no clues as to dating, but some information is offered by the garland around a rosette with a diagonally ordered fish-scale pattern. This unusual motif is also found in a mixed garland on a copper medallion from the strata of the first century A.D. at Taxila,<sup>476</sup> and thus sets a certain chronological fixed point for the bowl in Frankfurt. The parallel suggests that the silver bowl in the Getty treasure also came from the East.

The late dating of the bowl in Frankfurt does not necessarily imply a similar late dating for the piece in Malibu. The zigzag garland on the inside of no. 19 cannot be directly compared with the decoration of the bowl in Frankfurt, and the bird that has been punched in the metal as a medallion with rows of dots eludes chronological classification.

In addition to the piece just described, there are a few other examples of one-handed bowls from the nomadic steppe region that are not so closely related. One example from the end of the fourth century B.C. has a tight handle with a scroll decoration and comes from Archangelskaya Sloboda in the Dnieper region.<sup>477</sup> Another late Hellenistic or early Imperial bowl with a movable handle was found in western Siberia.<sup>478</sup> It is at least possible, therefore, that the footless, one-handed



FIGURE 40. Silver bowl reported to be from northwest Iran, late Hellenistic or early Imperial(?). Frankfurt, private collection.

vessels are part of a nomadic, central Asian tradition that was introduced to Iran by the Parthians. The number of parallels known to me is too limited, however, and the simple form too insignificant to allow definite conclusions. This is all the more true as one-handled bowls are also known from the Greek area of influence, although they usually have ring bases.<sup>479</sup> We will therefore have to content ourselves with the conclusion that there is nothing that, in the case of no. 19, speaks against a date in the first centuries B.C. or A.D. and an attribution to the Partho-Iranian area.

*The two small bowls without handles* and base rings from treasure I (nos. 20, 21) allow us to draw no particular conclusions as to typology. Bowl no. 20 bears, however, a short Iranian inscription of the Sasanian period that suggests an eastern provenance. Thus, these bowls do not belong to the same period as the other vessels in the treasure. As the discoloration on one large bowl (no. 4) and on one of the conical cups (no. 22) shows, small bowls of dimensions similar to those of nos. 20 and 21 originally lay on top of these vessels.

*The agate cup* (no. 25) consists of two separately worked pieces, the cylindrical body and the foot, which are held together by metal pins. At present, no typological parallels are known to me. The importance of the cup is indicated primarily by the material of which it is made, since agate vessels are otherwise known from the Ptolemaic circle but found their way even to China.<sup>480</sup>

## JEWELRY

Along with treasure I, the Museum acquired gold jewelry, agate pendants in gold mountings, and rock crystal beads. The gold and the pendants follow unmistakably Near Eastern types and are consequently discussed in connection with treasure I, although—as is the case with the silver bowls from treasure I—they seem not to date to the same period and it cannot be proved if some of them did originally belong to the bowls or the phalerae. In the case of the rock crystal beads, I could see no conclusive evidence that they could have been found with the other objects from treasure I and it seems doubtful that they are necessarily of Near Eastern origin. As with the two bowls mentioned in the introduction, the rock crystal will be omitted from this catalogue.

*The faceted gold torque* with a thick ridge at one point (no. 38) has two small prisms at the ends with attached loops. The thicker, ridged part of the necklace is also to be found on necklaces and bracelets from Tillya-tepe in Afghanistan<sup>481</sup> and in the Saka-Parthian

levels in Taxila,<sup>482</sup> and in treasure IV (no. 89), which must be dated to the late first century B.C. or to the first century A.D. The openings of these bracelets are not located at the thinnest point. Instead, the ridge itself was cut through. The corresponding basic forms of the pieces allow us, however, to assume with care that they come from the same cultural area.

Drawing on the evidence of the bronze statue of a Parthian from Shami, the torque can be identified as an ornament for a man.<sup>483</sup> The Malibu example should be reconstructed with a decorative pendant between the loops. The torque on the statue has an elongated decorative element, slightly curved at the top and more strongly flared at the bottom, an ornament that is found in several instances on the pendants set in gold in treasure I. All of these pendants, however, have vertical eyes through which a thin chain was to be threaded, but two (no. 60, which has traces of eyes on the sides, or possibly no. 65) could have belonged to a torque of the kind portrayed on the statue from Shami. The asymmetrical form of one pendant (no. 60) can be traced back at least to Achaemenid times<sup>484</sup> and is encountered on objects from tombs at Dura Europos dating to the Parthian period.<sup>485</sup>

Since the late finds already cited do not correspond fully to the Getty torque, the Malibu piece might be placed earlier and could possibly be regarded as evidence of a long Parthian tradition of such “ridged circlets.”

*The gold bracelet* (no. 39) has ends that are formed in the shape of panthers' heads or the heads of lionesses. The piece belongs to the tradition of Achaemenid animal-head bracelets, a type that is found in the Greek world as well as in the Near East in Hellenistic times.<sup>486</sup> The lack of truly Achaemenid details speaks against a pre-Hellenistic date; however, the oriental, non-Greek origins of this piece are confirmed by the lack of cufflike decorative elements behind the animal heads, a feature that must be regarded as typical for examples from Greek workshops.<sup>487</sup> Like the torque (no. 38) the bracelet could have been worn by a man since jewelry for men was common not only among nomadic peoples but also in Iran.

*The pendants* in treasure I are of different forms, most of them made of agate and mounted in gold. The majority have three vertical loops for threading (nos. 40–50). Whether all of the pendants belonged to one chain cannot be ascertained. One pendant (no. 41) is of the “Kohl-tube” type.<sup>488</sup> Nine pendants have gold settings on the ends but only two eyes (nos. 51–59). Except for nos. 41, 43, 56, 58, and 59, the pendants are made of agate. A rock crystal cylinder that was origi-

nally made to be strung horizontally was reused for no. 56. Other pendants (nos. 48, 49, and especially 50–52) are asymmetrical.<sup>489</sup> One of the agate pendants with three eyes (no. 40) has gold fittings different from those of all the other examples, being worked in the form of animals' heads. It is possible that the motif was drawn from Hellenistic animal-head necklaces.<sup>490</sup> Concerning chronology, there is a typological parallel to our piece in a carnelian pendant with lion-head finials from a necropolis near Emesa in Syria,<sup>491</sup> in which the burials date from around the beginning of the Christian era.

Of great interest in terms of provenance is an agate pendant that is supposed to have been found southwest of the Caspian Sea. The pendant is of the same three-loop type and the mountings are formed of gold stags' heads,<sup>492</sup> a motif whose importance to the Parthians has already been mentioned.<sup>493</sup> Pendants with loops but without animal heads are also found on Gandharan sculpture.<sup>494</sup> The similarity of the jewelry illustrates again the ties between the Indo-Kushan and Parthian regions.

In spite of the finds from Emesa and the Gandharan sculptures, several arguments could speak for a somewhat earlier dating for some of our pendants. The decoration of one pendant (no. 41), for example, has an exact parallel on a vial from what is most likely a pre-Achaemenid tomb in the Dalaiman area south of the Caspian Sea.<sup>495</sup> Apart from the chronological question, the provenance of the parallel again corroborates an Iranian origin for our pendants; however, ornamental stones mounted in gold were already known in Achaemenid<sup>496</sup> and Hellenistic times.<sup>497</sup>

Another grave from the Dalaiman area not only contained an agate bead set in gold but also a simple bead on which the gold cuffs and the gold center strip of more costly pieces are indicated by means of simple engravings.<sup>498</sup> We can also cite several other beads from the same site with similar decoration, which could all be from pre-Parthian times.<sup>499</sup> These finds bear out not only the western or northwestern Iranian origins of the jewelry from treasure I, they also confirm that the pendants are part of a much older tradition.

Finally, there are a number of elongated (in some cases cylindrical) beads which could belong to the "pendant chain." Two of them are strung on bronze wire (nos. 61, 62). The wire is twisted to form eyes on both sides of the beads. There is a parallel for this feature among the Dalaiman finds as well.<sup>500</sup> The elongated beads are to be regarded as ancient Mesopotamian in form and cannot be more precisely dated.<sup>501</sup> Of further interest is a faceted bead (no. 63), which, like the pendants, is also to be found on Gandharan sculptures.<sup>502</sup>

As already mentioned, not all the pieces of jewelry are contemporaneous. The gold torque and especially the bracelet must be placed earlier, possibly in the second century B.C. The agate pendants could belong chronologically to the third group of bowls, although a date in the late first century B.C. or in the earlier decades of the first century of the Christian era is debatable. If the pendants should actually belong to the third group, it could mean that some of the silverplate was buried in early Imperial times. But this has to remain speculative.

As the range of parallels demonstrates, the jewelry definitely belongs to the Hellenized Near East, and in the case of the pendants close analogies could be traced in the area southwest of the Caspian Sea, thus suggesting a possible northwest Iranian provenance for the pendants.

## TREASURE I: SUMMARY

As postulated in the introduction, treasure I can be attributed to the earlier Parthian period. The first two groups of vessels, the gold jewelry, and the horse trappings should date for the most part from the second century B.C. and even a date in the latter parts of the third century seems not to be beyond reach for some of the objects. The third group of the vessels can be ascribed to the first century B.C. and the stone pendants in gold mounts might even be placed a little later, at the beginning of the Christian era.

In view of this long span of time and given the variety of workshops involved, the contention that the pieces belong to a single find and form a unit in the archaeological sense of the word can be discounted. It is far more likely that the objects come from tombs spread over several sites.<sup>503</sup> The fact that the treasure was not a hoard can be demonstrated by the presence of the horse trappings, which seem to have been buried along with their leather straps (nos. 30–36), an observation that speaks strongly in favor of tombs and not an ancient treasure containing loot collected because of the highly prized precious metal.

The excellent state of preservation of the vessels and of the phalerae could speak for built tombs. There are only two damaged bowls among treasure I (nos. 16, 17).<sup>504</sup> The fact that the decorated interiors of the bowls are in a far better state of preservation than the exteriors indicates that they were deposited upside down so that water and dirt could not get in. In at least two cases, smaller vessels originally lay on top of larger bowls and cups.<sup>505</sup>

Unfortunately, it is not possible to draw any fur-



ther conclusions about the types of graves involved—that is, whether they were built of wood or stone, or whether they were sunk into the earth or erected under mounds. Nor is it known whether the horse trappings were laid in the graves or whether there were separate horse burials, which are known in the Scythian-nomadic area from the north coast of the Black Sea<sup>506</sup> to the Altai.<sup>507</sup> The latter may be considered in view of the Parthians' central Asiatic origins.<sup>508</sup>

As pointed out, it cannot be determined whether all the objects in treasure I are actually of the same provenance. The third and latest group of bowls in particular differs from the other vessels. But speaking about general provenances we can state that most of the objects from treasure I were most likely found in western or northwestern Iran, even if we cannot exclude with absolute certainty the northern Afghan territories. The best argument against this more eastern (Bactrian) provenance is that some vessels from treasures II and IV demonstrate that the repertoire of the Bactrian sphere as now understood does not correlate with the decorations of group three from treasure I.

Because a provenance in the territory of the former Soviet Union can be discarded, in view of art market conditions in recent times, it seems possible that the finds were made in the provinces of Parthia or Hyrcania, southwest of the Caspian Sea. There were few cities in this area in antiquity, and one is tempted to think of Hekatompylos or Syrinx—the latter fortified by Arsaces I—but this remains mere conjecture.<sup>509</sup>

The remoteness of northwestern Iran would also explain the survival of early Hellenistic forms among the ornaments of the vessels. After the Parthian invasion of Iran, the stream of Greek-trained craftsmen must have slowed down, at least for a time, so that the Graeco-Macedonian ornamental repertoire adopted in early Hellenistic times could have been retained here longer than it was in other areas of the Hellenistic world. Still, the scroll ornaments indicate that new forms reached the now Parthian-controlled workshops during the first two centuries of Parthian dominance.

Especially with the first two groups of treasure I, we find ourselves in early Parthian times, when the nomadic heritage was still intact and when the turn to Irano-Achaemenid culture had not yet taken place.<sup>510</sup>

The phalerae belong to a new class of central Asian, decisively non-Greek, non-Iranian horse decorations that came into use in Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan in the second century B.C. The overall importance of horses and cavalry for peoples of nomadic origin is mirrored in the rich horse trappings of a new

type, whereas the workmanship of both the silverware and of the harness ornaments can be attributed exclusively to provincial Hellenized workshops and demonstrates the preference of their former owners for Greek craftsmanship—consistent with the “philhellenos” on Parthian coins. Provincality and misunderstandings of Greek forms allow us to identify the artists with the indigenous subjects of the new Parthian ruling classes. Influences of the old Achaemenid tradition—which survived for centuries the breakdown of the Achaemenids as a political power in Iran—are almost entirely lacking.

The treasure, although not an archaeological unit, offers a deep insight into the Hellenized repertoire of the Iranian world under Parthian rule. In an archaeological sense the treasure and especially the vessels are representative of provincial Seleucid metalworking. In cultural and historical terms, the objects, especially the phalerae trappings, represent early Parthian culture.

## TREASURES II AND III

ALTHOUGH NOTHING IS KNOWN CONCERNING THEIR provenance, the vessels of treasure II were reportedly found together. There is no evidence whether they originally belonged to a tomb group or to a hoard that had been hidden under pressure. Notwithstanding these uncertainties, analysis demonstrates that the vessels could actually have formed a unit. The association of the shallow bowl (no. 68) and the lion rhyton (no. 66) is corroborated by the shape of the green oxidation on the rhyton, which suggests that both vessels were in all likelihood found deposited together, the bowl upside down on the rhyton, which was obviously flattened and maybe damaged in antiquity. Other vessels from treasure II include two hemispherical cups with stone inlays (nos. 69, 70) and a deep cup with leaf calyx decoration (no. 67).

### LION RHYTON AND RELATED RHYTA

The most impressive piece from treasure II is a huge lion rhyton (no. 66). The other rhyta in the Museum's collection do not belong to the same unit. One of the lynx rhyta (no. 71) forms treasure III along with the net pattern bowl (no. 72). The remaining two, another lynx rhyton (no. 73) and a stag rhyton (no. 74), reached the Museum without any recorded information. The four vessels rank among the most spectacular Near Eastern silverware and will be discussed together for the sake of comparison.

With regard to type, the lion rhyton from treasure II belongs to a class of vessels that was already known in the early Achaemenid period,<sup>511</sup> although the proportions of these early examples are not entirely retained. The horn is slightly larger and even in comparison to late Achaemenid examples bent in a somewhat sharper angle.<sup>512</sup> The same typological difficulty occurs in the case of the stag rhyton, which will be discussed later. A third Achaemenid group is formed by rhyta with very tall and slender horns, combined with a sometimes small forepart of an animal.<sup>513</sup> Two lynx rhyta in Malibu, dated to the first century B.C. by their inscriptions (nos. 71, 73), can be attributed to this group and clearly demonstrate the unbroken tradition of former Achaemenid types in the Hellenized Near East. In post-Achaemenid times, the lion type is represented not only in the Near East but elsewhere as well, as a fragmentary terracotta rhyton from Ptolemaic Egypt<sup>514</sup> and even

early Imperial representations demonstrate.<sup>515</sup>

Although the type of the lion rhyton is unmistakably derived from Achaemenid prototypes, the leaf calyx behind the protome of the animal is unprecedented in the Achaemenid or even early Hellenistic repertoire. The type is rarely represented among ancient silverware and most of the preserved examples only recently found their way into private collections. Two horse rhyta, an example with a sphinxlike female protome, a zebu rhyton and a stag rhyton should be mentioned.<sup>516</sup> Not only the presence of the zebu-bull, but likewise some of the calyx decorations and other ornamental details corroborate their attribution to the Hellenized Near East.

The earliest datable example known to me, however, is a fragmented silver rhyton from Merdzany on the Kuban Peninsula, a tomb group that cannot be placed much earlier than the early second century B.C.<sup>517</sup> The type of its protome is unfortunately unknown. Unlike the lion rhyton, the example from Merdzany bears a figural frieze (fig. 15) that links the vessel to the large group of ivory rhyta from the Parthian capital of Nisa.<sup>518</sup> The date of this group cannot be fixed within close limits of time, but for historical considerations cannot be placed earlier than the late third century B.C. A date in the second century, as suggested by M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, is far more likely but the first century cannot be excluded either. The Nisa group of not less than ninety vessels contains a whole series of rhyta with winged and horned lion-griffins but no example with a simple lion protome.<sup>519</sup> This and the lack of figural scenes clearly set our lion rhyton apart from that whole group, leaving as the only, but still important, point of comparison the foliage behind the protome. In contrast to the considerable number of Near Eastern leaf calyx rhyta, no further northern Pontic examples can be cited. With a lone exception from Alexandria, the same holds true for Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>520</sup>

Although the Nisa and Malibu rhyta belong to the same class, most of their details are treated differently; this is valid even for the trefoil motif. On the Nisa rhyta isolated leaves are used—more a spray of ivy, not the tightly bound garland seen on the Malibu example.<sup>521</sup> Thus the Nisa group can provide us with only a very general "Parthian" date for the leaf calyx class of rhyta, which means later than approximately 200 B.C. In all probability, the type was not entirely confined to Hellenized workshops of the Parthian Empire but it was barely used outside the Near East.

The garland type of ivy trefoil has parallels by the middle of the third century,<sup>522</sup> but the taenia-bound vari-

ety of the trefoil motif is not known earlier than the late third century.<sup>523</sup> An ivy garland, very close to the Malibu decoration but without the taenia motif, can be found on a lynx rhyton in the Metropolitan Museum, which, on comparison with the inscribed lynx rhyta in Malibu, can be dated in the first century B.C.

The calyx of lanceolate leaves and acanthus on the lion rhyton links the decoration to a bowl from treasure I (no. 5), but the system of the calyx was already known in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>524</sup> The flower types find but insufficient analogies in the first and second groups of treasure I (see chart, p. 244),<sup>525</sup> but the narrow band of stepped Achaemenid embattlements is represented.<sup>526</sup> The frieze of embattlements is hidden under the overlapping rim of the rhyton. The outer surface of the lip is barely finished and without any decoration. Is the overlapping rim a later modification? A similar rim can be seen on the previously mentioned lynx rhyton in New York. Hence the detail was not unknown in the first century B.C. and can be traced back to Classical rhyta, but the overlapping rim was more or less limited to Greek workshops and was not an Achaemenid feature.<sup>527</sup>

The stone inlays of the flowers, a feature already known in the third century, offer no further chronological evidence.<sup>528</sup> The parallels defy a more precise definition of the chronological framework but a late Hellenistic date in the first century seems probable. The treasure as a unit further reconfirms a burial in the first century B.C.

The two lynx rhyta belong to the more traditional group without calyx decoration (nos. 71, 73). The measurements are very close and they even share Aramaic inscriptions and signatures, which have nonetheless been executed by different hands, a fact corroborated by the different names of the signing artists. The similarity of the rhyta and the very similar syntax of the then unusual inscription speaks for a close relationship between the craftsmen or even for the same atelier. Moreover, the syntax of the inscription is almost identical to the inscription on bowl no. 14. Not only does this reconfirm the suggested dating of the lynx rhyta and of the latest group from treasure I to the first century B.C., it may also point to a similar provenance.

According to R. Degen, the names are Iranian, not Greek, even though the style of the vessels refers exclusively to Greek rather than native Near Eastern traditions. In the first century B.C., Graeco-Macedonian rule over Iran and Bactrian central Asia was nothing but history, although the Greek workshop tradition seems to have lived on almost untouched. The names preserved

here clearly demonstrate, however, that the ateliers were staffed primarily by native, if Hellenized, craftsmen.

Although rhyta with slender horns and relatively small protomes are already known in Achaemenid times,<sup>529</sup> the lynx rhyton is a new type in the Near Eastern repertoire. It is not without interest that, in the quite different field of jewelry, bracelets and earrings with protomes of lynxes make their appearance not earlier than the second century.<sup>530</sup> Even earrings with simple lynx heads are not represented before the later parts of the third century B.C., and it is of no surprise that both types were especially popular in the Seleucid Near East. We are perhaps justified in seeing the emergence of the lynx rhyta in connection with the increasing popularity of lynx representations in the Hellenized East.<sup>531</sup>

The Near Eastern tradition can even be recognized in a minor motif, such as the three-pointed whirl rosette engraved on the upper legs of the animals, a detail drawn from living creatures.<sup>532</sup> Furthermore, the representation of an animal or fabulous creature with a collar has its roots in Achaemenid times<sup>533</sup> and might be interpreted as an indication that the lynx was used for hunting. A harnessed lynx may also be seen as an allusion to Dionysos and his cart driven by wild animals.<sup>534</sup> This connection is the more likely, as a very similar rhyton in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>535</sup> depicts a lynx with a collar and an additional spray of vine and ivy around his shoulders, unmistakably connecting the vessel with the orgiastic god, an attribution that seems very appropriate for a drinking vessel.

The naturalistic rendering of the animal, however, bears no resemblance to Achaemenid formal traditions and must be seen as part of the Greek heritage of the Hellenized East. This holds true even for the concave profile of the rim of the vessel, which is unprecedented among Achaemenid examples and, as far as rhyta are concerned, can be traced no earlier than the third century B.C.<sup>536</sup>

The rare class of lynx rhyta is represented only by the Getty rhyton, its companion piece (no. 73), the already mentioned example in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 1979.447), and another example formerly in the Norbert Schimmel collection and now at the Metropolitan (acc. no. 1989.281.10).<sup>537</sup> The last piece closely resembles the Malibu rhyta; even the rim shows a similar profile. Like the Getty rhyta, the Schimmel rhyton is inscribed, bearing the Iranian name Tiridates and the weight, most likely in Parthian drachmas.

A closer examination reveals several differences in the rendering of the details between the Malibu pair and

the rhyton (1979.447) in New York. The latter does not have laid back ears and the beard around the throat is missing. The furious baring of the teeth is not nearly as accomplished as on the pair in Malibu. We are obviously dealing with a work from a different hand.

The heavy trefoil garland of the example in New York, composed of gilded ivy, links the lynx rhyton in New York to the lion rhyton (no. 66) from treasure II. Even the simple overlapping profile of the rim resembles the lip of the lion rhyton in Malibu. In combination with the Aramaic inscriptions on the two Getty rhyta, the garland corroborates the dating of the whole group to the first century B.C. The reported association of our lynx rhyton (no. 71) with the net pattern bowl (no. 72) confirms a date in the first century B.C.

The stag rhyton leads us back to the leaf calyx group of Near Eastern rhyta. Slender rhyta of a somewhat different type are already known in pre-Achaemenid times,<sup>538</sup> but the combination of an animal protome and a slender horn is but rarely represented among Achaemenid examples.<sup>539</sup> Much more popular was the stag head rhyton, which can be documented in Classical times from Asia Minor to southern Italy.<sup>540</sup> As far as the type of the vessel is concerned, the rhyton documents the unbroken tradition in the Near East, but the leaf calyx behind the protome of the animal places the vessel within the class of Hellenistic leaf calyx rhyta, discussed previously, that came into existence not earlier than the late third or early second century B.C.<sup>541</sup>

Unlike the type proper, rhyta with scrollwork are not represented among pre-Hellenistic examples. The tendril decoration of the stag rhyton rises from a four-petaled acanthus calyx with sharply serrated leaves. The beading of the central vein is in keeping with well-known Hellenistic traditions.<sup>542</sup> The bottom contours of some of the main indentations of the foliage are marked by double incisions, which find parallels on the decorations of the temple of Bel in Palmyra, dedicated in the age of Tiberius in 32 A.D.<sup>543</sup> The conception of the spirally wound pairs of tendrils finds but remote parallels in late Hellenistic or early Imperial decorative art but the idea was definitely known.<sup>544</sup> For the type of a horn covered with tendrils, attention should however be drawn to early Imperial cornucopias.<sup>545</sup> The stag rhyton gives us an idea of what the originals of similarly decorated cornucopias, which are not preserved, must have looked like.

All four interwoven pairs of flower tendrils<sup>546</sup> terminate in two large, crossed acanthus leaves that connect them with the third group of bowls from treasure I. Although the group can be placed in the first century

B.C.,<sup>547</sup> the inscription on the stag rhyton points to a date in the earlier parts of the first century A.D.

Thin flower stalks are twisted around the main tendrils, and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the next section of the tendril—following the acanthus knots—is irregularly developed out of the stalks or rising regularly from the acanthus knots. Notwithstanding this irregular conception, the tendrils follow the “companion scroll system,” which was already known in late Classical times.<sup>548</sup> In terms of absolute chronology, this detail is, however, of just as little importance as the tiny spirals that spring from the stalks, a feature that can already be documented on bowls from group one of treasure I.<sup>549</sup>

The flower types, such as the five-petaled rosettes (type 56), are in keeping with the Hellenistic Near Eastern tradition.<sup>550</sup> This is valid also for the leaf calyx flower with the dotted row of petals in the second tier (type 46)<sup>551</sup> or the ivy calyxes for the buds (type 35).<sup>552</sup> Unmistakably in favor of Near Eastern workmanship are the crosslike calyxes (type 38),<sup>553</sup> as are the buds springing from small acanthus calyxes, a motif that is represented also in Imperial decorations from Baalbek in Lebanon.<sup>554</sup> Finally, the indented contours of the ivy leaves link the decoration to the late Hellenistic rather than to the early Imperial repertoire, as the indentation has not yet reached the final stage of typological development of the early Imperial period.<sup>555</sup> However, the inscription, as stated above, points to a date in the first century A.D.<sup>556</sup>

The wave pattern at the rim, the so-called running dog, tells us as little about the date and place of origin as the band of palmettes over the trefoil garland beneath the lip. The garland itself, with its lanceolate leaves bound together in groups of three, is in keeping with the Hellenistic Near Eastern repertoire.<sup>557</sup> The trefoil garlands are bound together with a great bow, a motif that is also derived from Hellenistic decorations.<sup>558</sup>

The evidence suggests then that the vessel was manufactured in the late first century B.C. or in the earlier decades of the first century A.D. at the latest, which means more or less within the Augustan period. We can attribute the rhyton to a Hellenized atelier of the Near East, a workshop trained unmistakably in the decorative repertoire of the former Seleucid sphere. The frequent references to Hellenistic motifs demonstrate that these traditions survived the political collapse of the Hellenistic world. The silversmith is not nearly as provincial as the craftsmen of the third group of treasure I, thus speaking perhaps in favor of a Mesopotamian or Syrian atelier rather than of a Hellenized Iranian workshop.

## OTHER VESSELS IN TREASURE II

The shallow bowl (no. 68) found with the lion rhyton further vindicates its dating to the first century B.C.<sup>559</sup> The flowers in the three concentric friezes in the interior of the bowl are more or less linked to group three of treasure I. With the exception of the interspersed tips, the five-petaled blossoms around the central garnet resemble the flowers on bowl no. 14 (type 54).<sup>560</sup> The make of the petals is similar to the central rosettes on two bowls (nos. 6 and 7), thus suggesting a rather late date for these vessels.<sup>561</sup>

The eight-petaled blossoms with pointed tips in between in the second frieze follow a well-known Hellenistic type (type 52).<sup>562</sup> The upper frieze gives two types of flowers (type 46)—one with lanceolate leaves interspaced with dotted shoots in the second tier and a similar variety with tipped foliage with beaded central veins in the second layer. The first type finds close parallels in the central calyx of bowl no. 8<sup>563</sup> and on the net pattern bowl of treasure III (no. 72; type 46).<sup>564</sup> The latter parallel underlines a date in the first century B.C. not only for the vessel in question but for all of treasure II.

Art market sources reportedly attributed two hemispherical cups with rosettes in the outer centers and trefoil garlands to treasure II (nos. 69, 70). The hemispherical bowl with a central rosette is a standard type of the Achaemenid repertoire.<sup>565</sup> The five-petaled rosettes with overlapping leaves in the center of the bowls suggest a date not earlier than the first century B.C.<sup>566</sup> The garland belongs to the variety with bound trefoil groups.<sup>567</sup> The type was especially popular in the Seleucid Near East and came into being in the late third century. It is well documented even in Imperial times. Quite unlike earlier examples of the second century (no. 1), the junctions of the garlands are marked by garnets or green glass inlays.

Another vessel attributed to treasure II is of an entirely different making (no. 67). The exuberant calyx decoration on the lower part of the deep cup is partly given in relief and composed of an eight-petaled calyx of four acanthus-like leaves, interspaced with four nymphaea-like leaves. The center of the cup is covered by a small calyx of four elongated leaves, which correspond to the axes of the acanthus foliage and thus belong to the Hellenistic group of calyxes with superimposed leaves.<sup>568</sup> The narrow bases of the acanthus leaves are not in keeping with the mainstream of the Hellenistic calyx tradition, which shows almost without exception large, tightly built rosettes as central elements.<sup>569</sup> As suggested by J. Podany, this could indicate

a modern restoration.

The lower parts of the nymphaea foliage are covered by small acanthus leaves, a common motif in calyx compositions of the second century.<sup>570</sup> On top of the nymphaea the silversmith has placed elements in the shape of a double crescent, a decorative detail that, in the Near East, can be traced even in early Imperial times.<sup>571</sup> The motif could also be seen as the ornamental tip of the leaves, which, on other bowls, are sometimes even rendered as a pair of small separated leaves.<sup>572</sup> The interior of the nymphaea foliage is covered by an incised scale pattern. Like the whole calyx composition, this motif can be traced back to true Hellenistic traditions of the third and second century B.C.<sup>573</sup>

The large acanthus leaves with their rounded serrations along the edges are closely related to a bowl from treasure IV (no. 76) and can be considered as a special Near Eastern type.<sup>574</sup> The craftsman used two varieties: the first only slightly serrated with stone inlays at the indentations and a second more serrated variant with incrustations in the rounded tips. Only the second variant can be found on the bowl from treasure IV.

The three-dimensional adjuncts rank among the most important features of this decoration. The "frame" around the nymphaea and especially the overlapping tips of the acanthus leaves can be found on the bowls from the Faliscan hoard unearthed close to Civit  Castellana in central Italy (fig. 27).<sup>575</sup> The provincial Malibu cup corroborates their alleged Seleucid workmanship.<sup>576</sup> The Civit  Castellana hoard should belong to the second half of the second century, a date too early for the Malibu cup. Given its similarities to the plate from Nihavend (fig. 31)<sup>577</sup> and to bowl no. 76, as well as the context of treasure II, our deep cup should be attributed to the first century B.C., maybe even to its latter decades.

The flower tendril that borders the huge calyx finds a close parallel on bowl no. 76. Even some flower types with their stone incrustation have their matching counterparts. The same is valid for the beaded lines in high relief along the scroll.

The cup (no. 67) has been heavily mended, possibly in modern times. The whole centerpiece with almost all the central rosette is a later replacement of minor quality, a fact that can be verified best by the simple cross-hatching within the elongated leaves of the rosette. The preserved original parts bear a scale pattern, very close to the ornamental fill of the nymphaea foliage.

Another "spare part" can be recognized with the help of a stalk that has no joint with the flower and by

an adjacent rudimentary blossom in the flower tendril.

The great differences between the calyx decorations on the lion rhyton (no. 66) and on our cup can hardly be explained by a chronological gap. There can be little doubt that we are dealing with two entirely different Hellenized traditions of workmanship in late Hellenistic Iran, Afghanistan, or Pakistan. With the exception of the stone incrustations, the rhyton is linked more to the decorations of treasure I, a complex that shows close affiliation to traditional Hellenistic ornamental systems. The smaller group around the Getty cup should be seen as representative of a more provincial, distinctly non-Greek version of Hellenistic decorations that can be easily set apart from the workshops responsible for treasure I. At the moment, I would prefer to attribute the cup, the Nihavend plate (fig. 31), and the closely related bowl from treasure IV (no. 76) to the Bactrian sphere of influence, although all of them seem to have been produced after the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian state as a political power.

Similar to the three-dimensional adjuncts, all the details are derived from true Hellenistic prototypes but rendered in an alien way, thus giving a first insight into an Irano-Bactrian version of Hellenistic decorative art in the former Seleucid sphere of influence.

## TREASURE II: SUMMARY

It is possible that, as in the case of treasure I, we may be dealing partly with a collector's treasure—material from different sources united to form this complex. On the other hand, the chronological uniformity of treasure II, particularly as contrasted to the heterogeneous nature of treasure I, speaks strongly against a modern assemblage. As treasure IV or the Nihavend hoard show,<sup>578</sup> the deep cup (no. 67), which definitely belongs to another tradition of Hellenized Iran or the Afghan-Pakistani area, is not impossible in an Iranian complex. Till the opposite is proven, we should therefore consider treasure II as a single unit of the first century B.C.

In light of different Hellenized traditions in the Seleuco-Parthian Near East, it should be noted that despite some affinities of the ornaments used in treasure II with those in the third group of treasure I, there is a clear-cut distinction between the decorative systems. This means not only that our present picture is still incomplete but also that we are just beginning to form an idea of the decorative repertoire of the Hellenized Near East.

The purpose of the treasure deserves no elaborate

explanation. Together with a large bronze cauldron in the J. Paul Getty Museum, the vessels must be seen as table silver, used for festivities. Because none of the vessels carries an inscription, our ability to make an ethnic identification of the former owner is limited. Given its Iranian or, less likely, its even more eastern provenance and its date in the first century, we can only state that the treasure represents, in all probability, the Hellenized culture of the Parthian Empire. In view of the Hellenized nature of the treasure, I favor a Parthian rather than a native Iranian nobleman as the owner. From the viewpoint of art history, the metalware represents the provincial Seleucid or maybe Graeco-Bactrian repertoire, a cultural heritage that, even in Iran, Pakistan, or Afghanistan, survived the breakdown of the Hellenistic world as an independent political power.

## NET PATTERN BOWL

For treasure III we can again only rely on information from the art market and the fact that the lynx rhyton and the net pattern bowl both seem to belong to the first century B.C. Again we are confronted with table silver, and again we recognize the overwhelming Greek influence that, based on the reading of the inscriptions, has even infiltrated native Iranian workshops. The lynx rhyton (no. 71) has already been discussed,<sup>579</sup> and it remains to look at one of the most spectacular objects included in this catalogue—the net pattern bowl.

The decorative net pattern system of the shallow bowl (no. 72) is composed of staggered pentagonals, a decoration that is rarely represented among ancient silver.<sup>580</sup> The exuberant decoration is arranged around a central leaf calyx. Although the decoration was popular on Hellenistic moldmade Megarian bowls,<sup>581</sup> no example matches the elaborate decoration of the Getty bowl. Unlike the other preserved vessels, the decoration is limited to the interior of the bowl, a confinement that reflects the preference of certain artistic traditions of the Hellenized Near East;<sup>582</sup> however, it cannot be specifically seen as an answer to the demands of the shallow profile of the bowl, because similar shapes were exclusively decorated on the exterior already in Achaemenid times.<sup>583</sup> As far as we can judge from treasures I, II, and III, Hellenistic Near Eastern shallow bowls are predominantly decorated on the interior. Notwithstanding this observation, the survival of the Achaemenid or older Greek tradition of exterior design is, for example, demonstrated by the Nihavend plate (fig. 31) and by a shallow bowl from treasure IV (no. 76).<sup>584</sup>

The net pattern is documented already on a gold-glass cup from Gordion in Asia Minor that was unearthed from the destruction strata of 179 B.C.<sup>585</sup> The glass cup and the other three Hellenistic silver cups with pentagonal decorations known to me more closely resemble Megarian bowls and can be seen more or less as prototypes in precious metal for the pottery bowls. One of the silver cups is in the museum of Odessa<sup>586</sup> and another belongs to a treasure from Magna Graecia in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>587</sup> thus giving evidence of the widespread use of the net pattern system. The Getty bowl exceeds by far the moderate decorations of these cups, although the general outline of the net of pentagonals with enclosed flowers or rosettes is well represented among other Hellenistic net pattern compositions and occurs already on the Gordion gold-glass cup. The combination of the net pattern scheme with a central leaf calyx is hitherto unknown, however.

The general arrangement of the central calyx follows the crosslike Near Eastern type that can be traced back to pre-Hellenistic times.<sup>588</sup> The scheme is also known from the exterior of hemispherical cups such as a second-century bowl from Nihavend in western Iran or another in Toledo (fig. 30).<sup>589</sup> Instead of the interspaced tendrils and slender lanceolate leaves of these cups, the craftsman of the Getty bowl used broad leaves with cordlike contours and superimposed nymphaea-like foliage almost half the height of the broad leaves. That we are actually dealing with groups of double leaves and not with a single nymphaea calyx with rounded upper contours and overlapping tips is clearly proven by the profile of the composition which shows the broader foliage standing behind the smaller superimposed leaves.

The cordlike rendering of the contours of the foliage finds parallels on early Hellenistic and second-century metalware.<sup>590</sup> The similarly characterized central rib of the leaves, however, is represented only on a bowl from treasure I (no. 5).<sup>591</sup> The nonnaturalistic arrangement of the smaller veins, which run parallel to the contours of the leaves, is documented already in the later second century.<sup>592</sup> The detail can be seen even more distinctly on the superimposed calyx. Superimposed leaves appear frequently on Hellenistic decorations (nos. 4, 7).<sup>593</sup> The general composition of the central calyx is to date unknown outside the Iranian-Mesopotamian area and thus speaks strongly in favor of the Near Eastern provenance of the net pattern bowl.

The parallels for the net pattern composition could point to a second-century date but the types of the flowers suggest a more recent manufacture. All the blossoms

bear circular or oval garnets in the centers. No less than fourteen different flower types can be distinguished and one of them (type 2) clearly documents the affiliation to leaf calyx decorations and blossoms. The crosslike tongues are given as slender acanthus leaves, although the outer contours are left unserrated and straight. Leaves with rounded upper contours and horizontally curved veins are interspersed.

Related in respect to the composition of the calyx are crosslike flowers without staggered leaves. The fanlike variant reveals barely any similarity to natural blossoms (type 3), and in one case (type 2) only the dotted ribs give evidence for the artist's understanding of the floral character of the ornament. Following pre-Hellenistic ancestors, this flower type makes its appearance in the second century among Near Eastern decorations<sup>594</sup> and can be documented even in Imperial times.<sup>595</sup>

There are also blossoms of ivy (type 45), one with a second tier of leaves and another variant with rounded leaves in a second layer. Ivy blossoms are already represented in the first group of treasure I (nos. 1, 4, 10; type 45)<sup>596</sup> and on a much larger scale as a central calyx on another bowl (no. 5).<sup>597</sup>

Two-tiered flowers are also used for acanthus blossoms (type 67). The leaves in the shape of a triangle with straight veins and beaded central ribs are already part of the early Hellenistic repertoire and offer no clue to the date of the vessel.<sup>598</sup> The blossom in the shape of a small acanthus calyx, however, is to my knowledge not represented in this period, but that might be circumstantial, as more complex flower compositions are known even in the late fourth century.<sup>599</sup>

The small "central composition" composed of four rudimentary palmettes with a veined lanceolate leaf in the center is likewise difficult to date (type 69). The curled leaves are represented on a pebble mosaic of mid-second-century date from Ai Khanoum in northern Afghanistan<sup>600</sup> and find a good parallel on an Iranian silver plate of the late second or early first century in Hamburg (fig. 18).<sup>601</sup> In the same period fall the flowers with thirteen long petals and horizontally curved veins (type 61).<sup>602</sup>

Other flowers with twenty-two slender acanthus leaves which rise from a tiny calyx that surrounds the central garnet show again the connection of blossoms and large-scale calyx decorations. Parallels for the compositions are already known in the early Hellenistic period<sup>603</sup> and thus show that once established the repertoire was sometimes used for centuries.

A further clue toward a regional determination of



our workshop is provided by a flower of a distinctly non-Greek type (type 70) with four clockwise curved taenia-like leaves, alternating with dotted and counter-clockwise bent shoots. The angular shape of the first variety of leaves is repeated on two phialai from central Asia (fig. 41).<sup>604</sup> Given their appearance in a Russian collection and their general central Asian provenance, the plates can be attributed with some certainty to workshops in Bactria or the adjacent areas. This narrows the localization of the atelier of our Getty bowl to northern Iran or perhaps Afghanistan—or in ancient terminology, to the Bactrian sphere.<sup>605</sup>

Answers to the chronological question may be sought in a small blossom with eight lanceolate leaves and interspersed dotted shoots or leaves (type 46) and a variant with lanceolate leaves and pointed foliage with

beaded central ribs in a second layer. The first variety finds a close parallel of the first century B.C. in treasure II (no. 68).<sup>606</sup>

A first-century date is further ascertained by five-petaled flowers with nymphaea-like foliage<sup>607</sup> arranged in one or two tiers (types 56, 66). The leaves show horizontally curved veins and wound central ribs and are depicted overlapping each other. The overlapping came into fashion in the first century B.C. (fig. 31).<sup>608</sup> The wound central ribs are used on the Indo-Greek or Indo-Parthian bowl from treasure IV (no. 75),<sup>609</sup> thus giving further evidence not only in favor of a first-century B.C. date but indicating also an Iranian or Afghan-Pakistani provenance for the net pattern bowl.

A final type closely resembles a cobweb (type 65). This blossom is already known in the later parts of the second century<sup>610</sup> and may be compared to some flowers on a shallow bowl from treasure IV (no. 76).<sup>611</sup>

According to the evidence provided by the flowers, any date earlier than the first century B.C. can be excluded, although some similarities to the first group of treasure I point to the second century. As the net pattern design demonstrates, the decoration as a whole is derived from second-century originals, only the details giving away the later manufacture. This proves again the unbroken Hellenistic tradition in central Asia following the eventual collapse of the Seleucid and Bactrian realms. The dating also corroborates the alleged association of the net pattern bowl with the lynx rhyton (no. 71).<sup>612</sup> In terms of provenance the bonds with the Irano-Parthian and Bactrian-Indo-Greek world strongly suggest a northern Iranian or Afghan-Pakistani atelier. In view of the connection to treasure IV and other central Asiatic bowls, I would favor a Bactrian workshop.

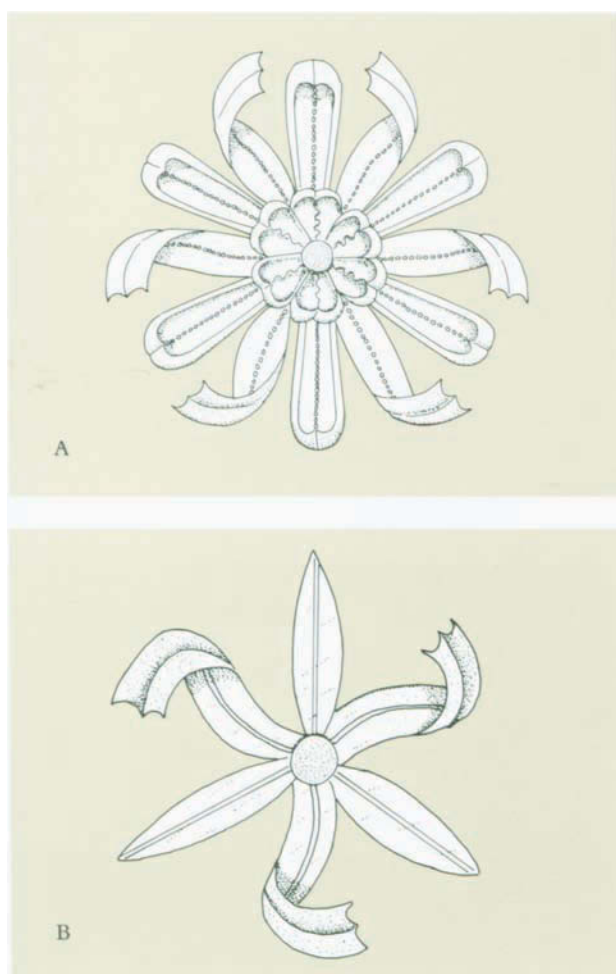


FIGURE 41A, B. Calyx decorations on gold (A) and silver (B) plates, most likely of Bactrian manufacture, first century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

## TREASURE IV

AS IN THE CASE OF TREASURE I, THE FOURTH TREASURE is composed of metal bowls and gold jewelry. Again it is doubtful that the bowls and the gold belong to a single find and were used together. But in general, the objects reflect the Hellenized as well as the nomadic traditions of the Afghan-Pakistani area in the first century B.C. and in the following first century of the Christian era.

### LEAF CALYX CUP

The parcel-gilt silver cup without a foot (no. 75) bears an engraved five-leaf calyx ornament. The broad leaves are separated by thin, narrow lanceolate foliage, and the upper border of the ornament is formed by a continuous guilloche above the leaves.

The protruding lip is decorated with an inverted Ionian cyma. The rounded body and protruding lip of the cup correspond typologically to a silver vessel from Olbia on the northern Black Sea coast (fig. 42).<sup>613</sup> A closely related piece of better quality in St. Petersburg<sup>614</sup> comes from the trans-Caucasian area or from western Siberia, but it lacks the flaring neck and the molded lip. The Ionian cyma that frames the rim of this piece, however, is also shown inverted. The ornament has taken on a form similar to that of peltae, but the small interspersed tips show that it is actually supposed to be an Ionian cyma. "Inverted cymas" are also to be found on gold-glass vessels from Iranian workshops (fig. 37).<sup>615</sup>

The basis for attributing the cups in St. Petersburg and New York to the Graeco-Bactrian circle and the ornament to the Seleucid or Bactrian sphere of influence has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>616</sup> The typologically related Malibu cup can be drawn upon to confirm this attribution.

Finally, the Seleucid bowls from Civit  Castellana confirm the relationship of the vessel to Seleucid craftsmanship. The bowls are only somewhat shallower and correspond to the Malibu cup in the choice of a guilloche as an outer border and in the use of the cyma for the lip (fig. 27).<sup>617</sup> The origins of the basic form of the Civit  Castellana bowls as well as the form of the cup in the Getty Museum are already to be sought in the Achaemenid Near Eastern repertoire.<sup>618</sup>

The small lanceolate-acanthus calyx in the middle of the ornament, designed over a hexagon, was already known in early Hellenistic times.<sup>619</sup> As is the case on older examples, lanceolate leaves are used to form the outer row of the calyx. The stiff, serrated acanthus leaf

with the beaded center rib is different from the rounded lobes of the Seleucid type.<sup>620</sup> This acanthus type also appears on the phiale (no. 76) acquired with the silver cup that cannot be dated earlier than the first century B.C.<sup>621</sup>

Although the outer leaves of the decoration emerge from a small central calyx in Greek fashion, the composition as a whole must be regarded as atypical for Greek decorative systems. In contrast to the small calyx, the outer calyx intentionally adopts the principle of the five-petaled blossom as it has been defined as typical, especially for the latest group of phialai in treasure I.<sup>622</sup>

In connection with that, the execution of the long lancet-shaped leaves speaks for the cup's production in an artistic province once under Achaemenid influence. As the gilding shows, the deeply bent leaf-tip, a motif that is already used on a deep phiale from Achaemenid times,<sup>623</sup> was indented. Narrow nymphaea-like leaves appear at the latest in the late third century B.C. in the Greek-Hellenistic repertoire,<sup>624</sup> but they do not achieve the delicacy of the lanceolate decoration on this cup.

It has been shown that the basic conception of the outer calyx with the narrow lanceolate leaves and broad foliage is connected with the ornamental repertoire of the second and first century B.C. (types 47, 54). This rather vague chronological framework is narrowed by the rosette blossoms on a silver plate with pentagonal ornament from treasure III (no. 72; type 66). The pentafoliate blossoms with wound center ribs correspond fully with the broad leaves on the cup in Malibu.<sup>625</sup> The curved, more or less horizontal veining is used already in the second century on a phiale from Civit  Castellana



FIGURE 42. Silver bowl, reported to be from Olbia, second century B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.50.2.

(fig. 27).<sup>626</sup> The unusual motif of a wound center rib is also to be found on gold and silver plates in St. Petersburg of alleged western central Asian or Bactrian workmanship (fig. 41).<sup>627</sup> The same holds true for the pentagonal bowl.

The craftsman of the Malibu cup (no. 75) understood the broad rosette leaves and retracted tips of the ornament as foliage whose tips are bent forward, as is indicated by the wound center rib which initially appears under the first horizontal vein beneath the upper edge.

Still to be mentioned is the small foliage at the leaf bases, which is suggested only by means of beaded center ribs. It can be compared with the small leaves at the base of the *nymphaea* foliage on a cup from treasure II (no. 67), a vessel that could stem from a workshop in the Bactrian sphere as well.<sup>628</sup>

The quality of craftsmanship and the extent of the development of independent traditions of form are in all these cases of high standard,<sup>629</sup> higher than among the provincial workshops responsible for treasure I. This was certainly the result of a stronger Greek presence in Bactria. It should be noted also that the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent came under Greek influence through Graeco-Bactrian expansion during the period in question.<sup>630</sup> From that time on, Graeco-Bactrian art certainly exercised influence on India. The attribution of the cup to the Graeco-Bactrian sphere therefore opens up a broad spectrum of possibilities with regard to the cup's provenance. As the parallels demonstrate, our cup should be dated within the first century B.C. The political situation in this century alone is sufficient reason to include Afghanistan or Pakistan as possible provenances.

## LEAF CALYX BOWL

Like the leaf calyx cup discussed above, this silver phiale was also raised, including the numerous ornaments, in high relief (no. 76). The ornament, which has been developed from a pentafoliate rosette with interspersed tips, speaks for a dating not earlier than the first century B.C., given the overlapping leaves of the central rosette.<sup>631</sup> The closest parallel both formally and technically is a silver phiale in the Nihavend Treasure from Iran (fig. 31).<sup>632</sup> It was reportedly found with Imperial coins, but the treasure also contained pieces that were obviously much older.<sup>633</sup> In the same tradition of craftsmanship, although differing in the general outline of the calyx, stands the deep cup from treasure II (no. 67).

As on the cup (no. 75) the second row of the calyx

on no. 76 is developed asymmetrically from the rosette. The serrate acanthus also finds its best parallels on this vessel. The lower parts of the interspersed lanceolate leaves are covered by smaller superimposed leaves, also a common motif in treasure I.<sup>634</sup> Finally, a *nymphaea*-nelumbo calyx interspersed with acanthus leaves whose alternate tips are bent rises without axial symmetry from the two-tiered ornament. The calyx composition can be traced back to Macedonian decorative art of the late fourth century B.C.<sup>635</sup> It enjoyed great popularity on metal and glass vessels in the second century B.C.<sup>636</sup> The rounded tips with stone inlays of the acanthus foliage are undoubtedly derived from the special Seleucid type discussed previously and find almost identical counterparts on the already mentioned cup from treasure II (no. 67).<sup>637</sup>

The decoration of bowl no. 76 is completed by numerous blossom scrolls,<sup>638</sup> which rise between the leaves and within the *nymphaea* foliage. The *nymphaea*-nelumbo-like leaves thus become filled decorative units, a feature already known in the fourth century B.C.<sup>639</sup> and found especially in the second century B.C. on metal and glass vessels (fig. 27).<sup>640</sup>

The asymmetry of the overall calyx design is illuminated by a comparison with the strict coaxial arrangement of Ptolemaic leaf calyxes (fig. 43),<sup>641</sup> and the difference is made even more noticeable by the fact that many individual details recur, albeit in highly mod-

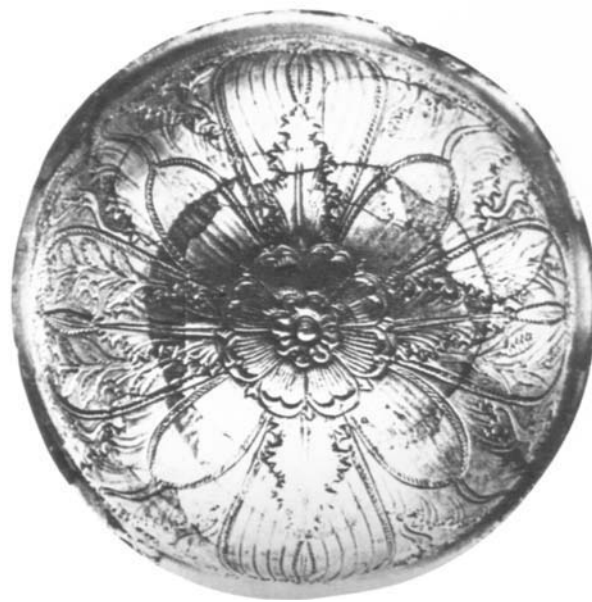


FIGURE 43. Silver bowl from the Fayum, Egypt, second century B.C. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 4337.

ified form, in both compositions—for example, the rosette with interspersed tips in the center of the bowl, the encircling wreath of acanthus and smooth leaves, as well as the filled nymphaea leaves and the acanthus with the alternately bent tips.

Particularly worth noting in this context are the compositional differences of the bowl from Nihavend (fig. 31) that is technically so closely related to the Malibu plate. There is no second row of acanthus and lanceolate foliage. Eight small, narrow lancetlike leaves, placed in front of the large leaves, have been added, a motif we have already encountered in its late Classical and Hellenistic form.<sup>642</sup> The symmetry of the composition with leaves in the foreground is more advanced, and only the five-leaf rosette could not be integrated. It should be noted here that the principle of symmetry is not an entirely sufficient criterion for attributing a piece to a particular artistic circle. The Seleucid vessels from Civit  Castellana are perfectly symmetrical in composition (fig. 27). The leaf calyx ornaments in treasure I are also coaxial (nos. 4, 6, 7). The conscious rejection of unifying elements between the calyxes on the cup (no. 75) and the bowl (no. 76) may point to a particular artistic province or workshop tradition, but the composition is not so often found in the Seleucid repertoire.

When we speak of nymphaea nelumbo leaves on bowls from the Seleucid and Bactrian sphere, we are talking primarily about nymphaea-like foliage that exhibits a bent leaf tip like the Egyptian foliage type represented, for example, on pieces from the group from Fayum-Canosa (fig. 43).<sup>643</sup> Foreign to the actual nymphaea leaf (fig. 16) is the pointed contour of the tip. If, however, we examine the vessels from Civit  Castellana (fig. 27) or the cup from treasure II (no. 67), we notice immediately that the suggestion of bent leaf-tips is totally lacking in the case of the nymphaea foliage. The contour of the leaf is curved and evenly rounded in the upper part. This is also true of the silver bowl from Nihavend (fig. 31). The difference between this and Ptolemaic decorations is the more remarkable since Egyptian nymphaea nelumbo leaves were perfectly well known even in the Seleucid-Bactrian sphere.<sup>644</sup>

Compared with the Civit  Castellana group (fig. 27) and the Nihavend bowl (fig. 31), the Malibu bowl goes a step further. The rounded inner field is only distinguished from the upright leaf tip by a tiny line, and the stiff contour of the leaf is not related to the curved leaves of the other bowls. Stiff leaves of this type are nevertheless well known and are to be found even on monuments of Kushan times in India<sup>645</sup>—a further indication of the Indo-Greek or Graeco-Bactrian origins of

the Malibu vessels (nos. 75, 76). The acanthus on the Getty bowl, which bends to the side without any suggestion of overlapping, is not only to be found on the Nihavend phiale but also on a belt buckle in Taxila.<sup>646</sup>

Two variants of the flower tendril also appear on the Malibu plate. Filigree scrolls, some with tiny Italianizing spiral volutes, rise up between the leaves.<sup>647</sup> The nymphaea-like leaves are filled with similar scrolls but without spirals. Just like on the cup from treasure II (no. 67), there is a continuous blossom scroll with broad accompanying leaves between raised rows of beads in the friezelike zone above the leaf calyx. The broad leaves along the scroll are unusual for a Hellenistic floral scroll.

A late Gnathian bowl<sup>648</sup> depicts at first glance a similar motif but, given the differences in shading, this is without doubt a fillet that is wound around the ivy scroll.<sup>649</sup> The motif recurs in simplified form, perhaps already understood as a scroll, on a Hellenistic emblem bowl of the later third or early second century B.C. from the northern Pontic region.<sup>650</sup> The detail is probably also cited in very alienated form on a scroll ornament from Kurgan 2 in Pazyryk in the Altai, but this might be entirely incidental.<sup>651</sup> In later times, the large leaves appear even on Sogdian wall paintings.<sup>652</sup> At present the floral scrolls on the Malibu bowl can only be seen against the background of this tradition of forms in the Near East. It seems possible that the scheme is simply a misunderstanding of a taenia motif.

The floral repertoire on both types of tendrils on bowl no. 76 is similar but not identical. A feature that is typical for the late stage of development is the use of large numbers of rather flat rosettes, some of them with five leaves—the same type as those on the Nihavend bowl (fig. 31). The same can be seen on the third group from treasure I (nos. 13–16; see chart, p. 244). Worth noting here is a rosette with serrate edges, which should probably be interpreted as a blossom given in back view.<sup>653</sup>

The other blossoms are almost without exception tiered compositions made up of slender buds that emerge from calyx blossoms.<sup>654</sup> Parallels are to be recognized on the deep cup from treasure II (no. 67). In contrast to most of the buds on the bowls from treasure I (types 27–34), the buds are no longer slightly opened at the tip in Classical or Hellenistic fashion. The closed variant is to be found in an ornament from the early Imperial strata at Taxila already mentioned,<sup>655</sup> but blossoms of this kind can be documented at the latest from the second century B.C.<sup>656</sup>

We must distinguish between two variants of tiered blossoms. One is a composition with a calyx seen

at a slanting angle from above, as we know it already from the early Hellenistic-Macedonian repertoire.<sup>657</sup> The other is the bud developed from three pendant leaves, a calyx shown from the side with leaves bent outward.<sup>658</sup> The development of this form is clearly recognizable on the bowls from treasure I (types 32–34). The best parallels or rather prototypes for this calyx variant are to be found in the Graeco-Bactrian region.<sup>659</sup> There the motif is shown in rigid two-dimensionality.

As indicated in connection with treasure I, the blossoms with the three pendant leaf petals in no way represent a form exclusively peculiar to the Graeco-Bactrian region although it occurs on the Nihavend plate (fig. 31)—it is also to be found on a bronze basin with Egyptianizing decoration.<sup>660</sup> The Nihavend bowl, however, depicts the trefoil ivy blossom that is so typical for all of the groups of bowls in treasure I (type 45). This is consistent with the Iranian provenance of the vessel.

The first tiered blossom variant mentioned is to be found in such closely related form on a decoration from Taxila that one could suggest a similar, eastern provenance for our bowl (no. 76) and date it to the first century B.C. or the first century A.D.

## HEMISPHERICAL CUP, KETTLE, AND SHALLOW BOWL

The shape of this silver cup (no. 77) is derived from an originally oriental type of hemispherical vessel that was widely used in Hellenistic times.<sup>661</sup> The cup has a partially damaged inscription in Greek that possibly refers to the weight of a pair of cups (only this one preserved). If this interpretation is accepted, the standard of weight used in the inscription accords with that of the Parthian standard of approximately 4 grams per drachma (see catalogue entry).<sup>662</sup> Consequently, the weight of the vessel does not contradict its alleged eastern provenance.<sup>663</sup>

Traces of soldering for the handle attachments on a small round silver kettle without a foot (no. 78) provide a certain amount of information toward dating the piece. Whereas one of the attachments of the now missing handle was round, the other was of cordate form with a cross-shaped tip. Comparable attachments are to be found in the eastern Mediterranean in the first century B.C.,<sup>664</sup> and the vessel therefore fits well into the chronological framework already established for the leaf calyx vessels.

The simple, undecorated shallow bowl (no. 79) fits into the same Near Eastern class of bowls without foot

or base ring that is represented by most of the vessels from treasure I (nos. 1–18). Consequently, the bowl confirms in a very general way the suggested eastern provenance of the other vessels from treasure IV. In comparison with the bowls from the first treasure, the rather thick-walled vessel is, however, of rather inferior workmanship. As could be demonstrated, the type was in use also in the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

## HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In terms of the history of their ornament, these vessels (nos. 75–79) should be attributed to the former Graeco-Bactrian sphere. But their positioning in a chronological framework from the middle of the first century B.C. or even early first century A.D. raises several art historical questions when seen in relationship to the suggested provenance from the Pakistani or Afghan territories.

Because in the last third of the second century B.C. the Graeco-Bactrian world finally collapsed under the assaults of nomadic peoples,<sup>665</sup> leaving independent Greek states only in Afghan-Pakistani regions, we can assume with caution that the repertoire of the Indo-Greek realm of the first century B.C. was identical in its basic features with the Bactrian repertoire of the second century B.C. The same might be valid for the Indo-Parthian and Saka-Parthian periods of the first century A.D.

In the course of the second century B.C., the Parthians finally expelled the Seleucids from Iran. Did the exchange of artistic forms continue unbroken despite the political changes? If we are right to see the bowl from Nihavend (fig. 31) and the cup from treasure II (no. 67) as being in the Graeco-Bactrian tradition, we must again accept a lively interchange of products.

It might be that the common traits of this late Hellenistic repertoire go back to the Seleucid and Bactrian traditions of the second century B.C., which perhaps continued to be used after the collapse of Hellenism as a political power in the Indo-Greek as well as the Partho-Iranian area. On the other hand, in view of the similarity of some later details, a certain amount of exchange must have taken place.<sup>666</sup> The Graeco-Bactrian vessels in Malibu offer some insight into the problem of the continuation of earlier Hellenistic traditions in the field of decorative systems in central Asia.

## GOLD CUP

A cup made of thin gold sheet (no. 80) was acquired along with the silver vessels (nos. 75–79) and the gold jewelry (nos. 81–125). No precise parallel to this cup is known to me, although it can be attributed to a cultural sphere with a relative degree of certainty. The high foot, the narrowing below the lip, and the fact that it has no handles suggest cuplike pottery bowls from Ai Khanoum and Tepai-Sach in Bactria, although the outlines are not exactly the same.<sup>667</sup> The bulging contour below the lip is also known from deep bowls of the same provenance.<sup>668</sup> Comparable late Hellenistic and early Imperial bowls in the eastern Mediterranean, from Delos,<sup>669</sup> Tarsus,<sup>670</sup> and Athens,<sup>671</sup> however, often have handles and a far more flaring shape and more pronounced lip.<sup>672</sup>

The gold cup thus fits well into the Graeco-Bactrian cultural context that we have been able to establish for the vessels that were acquired along with it. The form of this vessel is known only in a much higher and more slender version among the finds from Taxila.<sup>673</sup>

It seems advisable not to choose too close limits for the chronological attribution, but a dating between the later second and the first centuries B.C. or even in the first century of the Christian era seems probable.

## INDO-SCYTHIAN JEWELRY

Along with the vessels just discussed, the Museum acquired a number of pieces of gold jewelry of similar date that fit into a different ethnic horizon. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the vessels were found with the gold objects. What can be said with certainty is that the gold in particular is part of the nomadic, central Asian cultural horizon that is identifiable in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the later decades of the second century B.C. down to the first century A.D. The following analysis will clarify the strong connections of the former owners to areas of nomadic central Asia.

## BRACELETS AND NECKLACES

This group includes three bracelets and a torque with “trumpet-shaped ends” (nos. 89–92). The typological precursor of the latter is possibly to be seen in the torque from treasure I (no. 38).<sup>674</sup> The largest of the pieces, approximately 15 centimeters in diameter, can be identified as a torque (no. 89). A parallel exists, along with a coin of Tiberius, in the inventory of Grave 3 in Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan<sup>675</sup> and another was

found in Taxila<sup>676</sup> in the treasures of the first century A.D. from houses of the late Saka-Parthian period.<sup>677</sup> One of these treasures contained besides a torque a silver bowl, which, according to the inscription, must have been in use in the first third of the first century A.D.<sup>678</sup> It is worth mentioning that, unlike the Getty torque, two of the three examples known from Taxila were worked in two pieces.

Three slender bracelets, or anklets, of the same type, which are only 6 to 8 centimeters in diameter (nos. 90–92), are known in similar form from Tillya-tepe<sup>679</sup> and Taxila.<sup>680</sup> There the bracelets or rings seem to be always heavier and some of the pieces from Taxila were also worked in two halves.<sup>681</sup> In any case, according to the finds from Tillya-tepe and Taxila, the bracelets and the larger torque can be dated at the earliest to the end of the first century B.C. or, more likely, to the first century A.D.

## BELT MOUNTS

Among the metal fittings, decorative pieces for use on belts figure prominently. The variety of pieces that can be identified as buckle mounts could be an indication that they stem from different contexts or burials (nos. 93–108).

The numerous thin gold sheets cut in rhomboid and zigzag lamellae of various sizes seem at first glance to have been used as decorations for belts as well. Their variety also suggests that the pieces come from different burials (no. 109). It is curious, however, that holes for sewing them on are missing, although this difficulty would exist for any other suggested use as well. Exact parallels in gold sheet are not known to me. We can point here, however, to a set of appliquéés with pointed edges on a belt from Bactria that must have made a very similar impression when it was sewn on.<sup>682</sup>

Possible analogies for lamellae made of other materials can also be cited. Textiles cut in overlapping zigzag form were found in the sixth kurgan in Noin Ula in Mongolia. The Noin Ula finds provide several parallels for the Malibu gold and thus the comparison gives a certain chronological point of reference.<sup>683</sup> S. I. Rudenko has suggested an interpretation of the textiles as flags and banners.<sup>684</sup> The zigzag and rhomboid decoration remotely recalls Siberian bronze pieces<sup>685</sup> and a Siberian gold buckle.<sup>686</sup> In general, there can be little doubt about the connection between the Getty lamellae and costume ornaments from central Asia.

A further clue as to the dating of these pieces is provided by two simple, looplike buckles or hooks, which

were also found in the sixth kurgan in Noin Ula.<sup>687</sup> The burial dates to the earlier first century A.D., as mentioned previously.<sup>688</sup> But as similar as the buckles are, the tightly compressed examples in Malibu (nos. 102, 103) make doubtful the use of a tongue and resemble closely the likewise tongueless buckles or loops from Tillya-tepe.<sup>689</sup> These loops and a simple gold loop (no. 104) are most likely companion pieces to the round belt buckles with a hook (nos. 96–101). Again, early Imperial parallels from Tillya-tepe can be cited.<sup>690</sup>

The undecorated, rectangular gold sheets, one of them with a hook, should also be interpreted as mounts for belt buckles (nos. 107, 108). Another pair bears a representation of a falling horse (nos. 105, 106), its body twisted, a motif that is known from a number of Siberian gold objects (fig. 44).<sup>691</sup> The humble sheets, hammered over a mold, reveal several misunderstandings of the central Asian motif. The horse seems to have a small, waving wing, which might be a waving mane.<sup>692</sup> The depiction of the horse's twisted hindquarters seems to have been beyond the craftsman. Although the representation does not approach the quality of Siberian goldwork or in technical respects the comparative material from Tillya-tepe,<sup>693</sup> it unmistakably demonstrates the owner's close ties to the animal style of art from the steppes. The pieces also provide clues to the dating of the Siberian gold objects, an issue that will not be discussed here, however.

A gold buckle with two juxtaposed ram's heads (no. 95) also points unmistakably to the sphere of Siberian goldwork. The basic type of the buckle is documented among Siberian examples as well as in Bactria,<sup>694</sup> although no exact parallels are known to me. The



FIGURE 44. Gold buckle from the Siberian collection of Peter the Great, late Hellenistic(?). St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/6.

heads can be compared with two ram's heads in mirror-image scenes with attacking animals on a decorated buckle in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>695</sup> Most closely related are the form of the horns and the beards inlaid with stones.

A connection to iconographic themes from the art of the steppes is further illustrated by two ornamental metal plaques for belt buckles in the form of wolf's heads with laid back ears and wrinkled noses that would normally suggest the animal is baring its teeth (nos. 93, 94). In spite of the slightly open mouth, however, the teeth cannot be seen. There is a circular boss in the lower jaw of the wolf on no. 94 that might have had something to do with the clasp. This detail and the wrinkles that, in contrast to no. 93, are laid back toward the base of the nose as in nature seem to me to speak against J. Frel's suggestion that this piece is a forgery.<sup>696</sup> Even though there are no known exact parallels for these wolf's heads, wolves as motifs in groups showing attacking animals in Siberian art are sufficiently documented.<sup>697</sup>

Close bonds to central Asian art are also illustrated by a gold sheet whose use is at present unknown (no. 110). Its pierced, curvilinear ornament reveals connections with finds from early Hellenistic graves in the Altai.<sup>698</sup> It cannot be denied that this comparison would lead us away from the dating of the gold objects postulated here, unless it could be demonstrated that such motifs were used over an unusually long period of time.

## APPLIQUÉS FOR TEXTILES

The large number of small decorated gold disks can be interpreted by analogy as ornaments for elaborate robes. There are again parallels for the small, round gold disks (no. 121) in burials from Tillya-tepe.<sup>699</sup> A number of small, lenticular disks can be arranged to form a pattern—for example, a five-petal blossom (nos. 122, 123). The preference for pentafoleate rosettes in the Hellenized Orient has already been mentioned.<sup>700</sup> The arrangement of such a rosette is, however, only one of several different possibilities. Another is illustrated by the so-called statue of Castana (fig. 45A).<sup>701</sup> The statue belongs to the Gandharan sculptures and is chronologically later than the appliqués in Malibu, but the comparison does point to the same cultural background and—given an Afghan or Pakistani provenance for the Malibu pieces—to the same geographical area.

There are also parallels of much better quality in Tillya-tepe<sup>702</sup> for the over one hundred small appliqués in the shape of small, quatrefoil ivy calyxes (no. 120) as



well as similar objects in the burials at Noin Ula (fig. 45B).<sup>703</sup> The Tillya-tepe appliquéés are depicted as real calyxes with pistil pendants. The ivy calyx is also part of the ornamental repertoire in treasure I (type 45). The question arises as to whether this ornamental form was introduced into the East from the West. In the early Hellenistic tombs in Pazyryk there are also quatrefoil appliquéés, but they do not yet follow the ivy type.<sup>704</sup> In view of the western imports found in the graves in Tillya-tepe and Noin Ula,<sup>705</sup> we may tentatively trace the use of small ivy chalices on objects of various kinds to contact with the West. The use of the motif as an appliqué is, as far as I know, unknown before the graves in Noin Ula, and the appliquéés in Malibu can therefore scarcely be dated earlier than the late first century B.C. An attribution to the first century A.D. seems much more likely.

*Four-Blossom Stars.* The most frequent decorative motif among the Malibu appliquéés is a lotus blossom star made up of four separate flowers. It is to be found on four rectangular gold-sheet appliquéés framed by bead and reel ornaments (no. 117). Even smaller than these appliquéés of about 3 square centimeters are eighty appliquéés of only about 12 millimeters that have been hammered over a mold and depict cut-out, star-shaped blossoms (no. 119). There are also twenty-five large, star-shaped blossoms cut from thin metal sheets that measure more than 9 centimeters (no. 118).

The use of quatrefoil star-shaped blossoms as a motif for gold appliquéés seems to have its origins in the Scythian-nomadic repertoire. Numerous appliquéés of this type were already part of the find from Maikop that dates to the fifth century B.C. They represent the most simple form of the blossom with two curled sheath leaves and a pistil.<sup>706</sup> The sheath leaves are more tightly curled than on the examples in Malibu.

The rather nonnaturalistic representation of the blossoms on the Maikop appliquéés, whose stems literally divide to frame the large center of the composition, is still to be found in analogous form on the four rectangular gold appliquéés whose beaded frames already suggest western models (no. 117).<sup>707</sup> This frame motif can be documented in central Asia at the latest from the time of the Pazyryk graves<sup>708</sup> and most certainly reflects early Hellenistic influence. It is therefore not surprising that the floral cross is already to be found on a textile from the fifth grave in Pazyryk (fig. 45C).<sup>709</sup> Large circles form the center of the composition and the flowers are placed directly on the circle without stems, as is the case on the largest appliquéés at the Getty Museum (no. 118). In Scythian and Scythian-influenced grave inventories in the northern Pontic region, there are appliquéés with

four much more elaborate blossoms,<sup>710</sup> and we can also assume western models for this particular blossom composition. The palmettelike filled blossom<sup>711</sup> seen there also found its way into central Asia.<sup>712</sup>

In view of the connections between the Malibu gold and elements of the nomadic repertoire, it is of particular interest that a related though not identical star-shaped blossom with buds within a bead and reel frame is also to be found on a scabbard for the sword of a statue of the famous Kushan king Kanishka (fig. 45D),<sup>713</sup> a detail to which we will return.<sup>714</sup> No convincing parallel for the smallest of the star-shaped blossoms in Malibu is known to me (no. 119). It must, however, be regarded as a simplified form of the larger star-shaped lotus flower.

The composition of the floral cross is also to be found on a late Hellenistic textile from Kurgan 6 in Noin Ula in Mongolia (fig. 45E).<sup>715</sup> As far as I know, star-shaped blossoms are no longer to be found at this time in the western Scythian region. The lotus star was retained for a far longer time in India and is still to be found on Gandharan sculptures. The dating of these sculptures is subject to controversy, however, since the dating of the Kushan Dynasty—for example, of Kanishka—varies from between the first to the third century A.D.<sup>716</sup>

Lotus blossom stars are not only to be found as an isolated decorative motif on the textile from Noin Ula already mentioned. Similar though more complicated stars form a netlike decoration on the costume of a rider depicted on another textile fragment.<sup>717</sup> Small, circular decorative elements like the Malibu appliquéés (no. 121) also reappear.<sup>718</sup> It is not possible to determine whether the costume of the rider, who is seated on a horse with Parthian, central Asiatic phalerae,<sup>719</sup> represents an embroidered robe or a piece of clothing decorated with gold-sheet appliquéés.

In view of the recurring connections between the gold objects in Malibu and the inventory of the graves from Noin Ula, it is not surprising that the physiognomy of the riders depicted on the textiles has been compared with Gandharan sculpture.<sup>720</sup>

*Round Appliquéés.* One round appliquéé framed by a cord (no. 111) has a pentafoliate calyx of nymphaea-like leaves.<sup>721</sup> Leaves with a double contour have been encountered on bowls in treasure I (nos. 6, 7). The inner outline is evidently supposed to indicate a broad leaf rim. The radial lines visible over the leaves represent a contradiction to the Hellenistic leaf type. On the appliquéé, they might represent traces of fastenings for small eyes, which were originally used for attaching the appli-

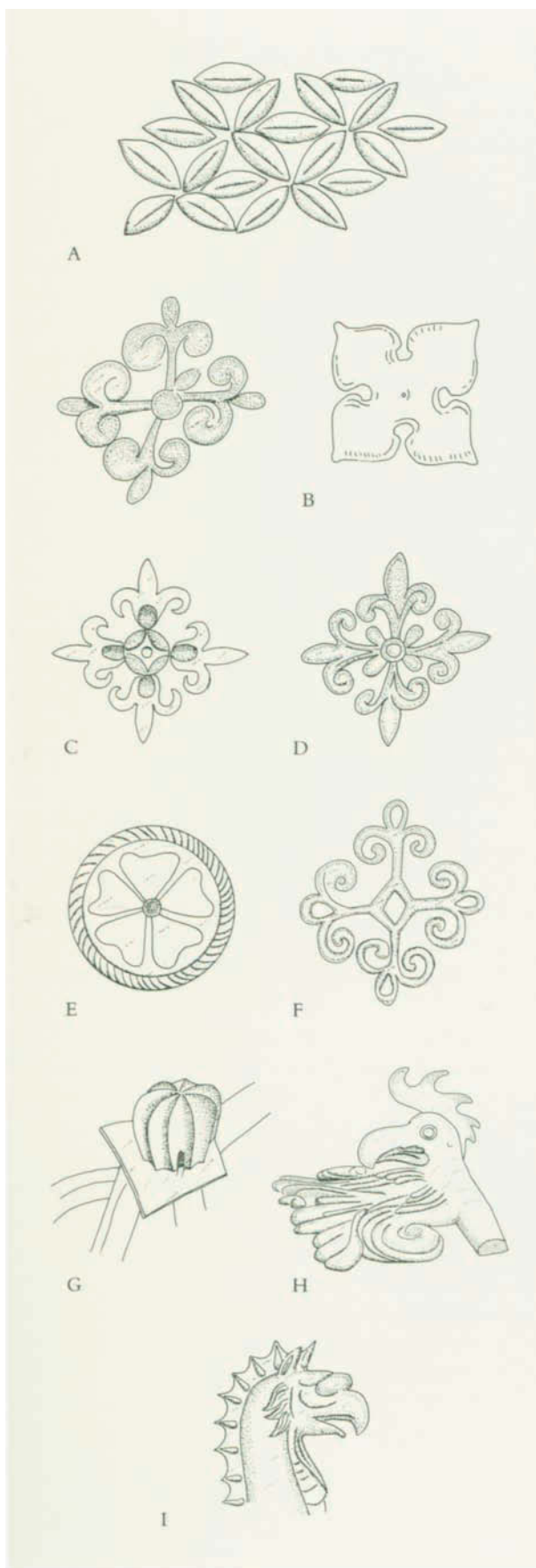


FIGURE 45A-I. A: detail of the robe ornaments of the so-called statue of Castana, second century A.D.(?). Mathura Museum. B: carved wooden quatrefoil ivy blossoms from Noin Ula, Mongolia, late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. C: crosslike flower ornament from Pazyryk, Kurgan 5, late fourth or early third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. D: relief representation of an appliqué on a statue of Kanishka, second or third century A.D.(?). E: floral cross from a textile from Kurgan 6 in Noin Ula, Mongolia, first century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. F: rosette on the foot of a glass skyphos from Siverskaya Stanitsa on the Taman Peninsula, late second century B.C. Moscow, Pushkin Museum 4890. G: wooden button on a bridle decoration from Pazyryk, Kurgan 5, late fourth or early third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. H: wooden bridle decoration in the shape of an eagle-griffin from Pazyryk, Kurgan 1, late fourth or early third century B.C. St. Petersburg, Hermitage. I: griffin head of Greek type from a silver rhyton from Tuch el-Karamus in Egypt, late fourth or first half of third century B.C. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38093. Drawings by Tim Seymour after the author.

qués. It is also conceivable that the craftsman regarded the ornament as a composition in which five ivy leaves are shown with their tips turned inward. The radial lines would then have to be understood as leaf stems. Two coarse holes in the framing cord are later repairs.

The use of small rosettes or small leaf calyxes, although not with nymphaea-like foliage, as an appliqué decoration is already encountered in the northern Pontic region in pre-Hellenistic contexts, but a very similar rosette decorates the foot of a glass skyphos in the tomb of Siverskaya Stanitsa on Taman (fig. 45F), a grave of the second half of the second century that has already yielded a three-loop phalera of Parthian, central Asiatic type.<sup>722</sup>

Close comparisons for the circular, pentafoliate calyx appliques guide us again to the tombs from Tillya-tepe, where the petals are partly inlaid, partly cut out.<sup>723</sup> These tombs seem not to be earlier than the first century B.C. and are consequently later than the Siverskaya skyphos. In view of the Tillya-tepe pieces it offers no surprise that the nymphaea-like foliage is also to be found in Taxila<sup>724</sup> and even in Noin Ula.<sup>725</sup> Comparable floral calyxes are also known in Gandharan art.<sup>726</sup> For our Malibu appliqué, a date in the late first century B.C. or in the first century A.D. is advisable, but we should keep in mind that the motif itself is definitely older.

Of the other round appliques in Malibu, only one can be regarded as a miniature leaf calyx (no. 115). In this piece an eight-pronged calyx of narrow, drop-shaped leaves around a large center is framed by a guil-

loche. A stone once decorated the center.

The second row of leaves in the calyx is made up of much broader, crosshatched leaves. Different treatment of the two rows forming the calyx has already been encountered on bowls from treasures I, II, and III (nos. 8, 68, 72; type 46), but the leaves in the second row on the bowl are different in shape. The use of a broader second row of foliage in the chalice is found already in Hellenistic times but it seems doubtful that this special feature of some Hellenistic calyx compositions is the basis for the Malibu appliqué.<sup>727</sup> In the case of the Malibu appliqué it seems doubtful whether the craftsman was aware of the fact that the ornament was actually supposed to represent a leaf calyx. The resulting semi-circular dissolution of the edge of the ornament could also be interpreted as something other than a leaf calyx, but the hatching on the second row of leaves seems to me to speak for an interpretation as a two-row chalice.<sup>728</sup> Caution is in order here, however, since the crosshatching in the spaces between the leaves on another appliqué (no. 114) is possibly only to be interpreted as background and not as a second row of leaves.

Appliqué no. 115 and its center are framed by a simple guilloche of a type already known in pre-Hellenistic times.<sup>729</sup> The frame occurs also on most of the other circular appliqués in Malibu (nos. 111, 112). One appliqué (no. 112) belongs to a simple star type that is cut out like those on circular appliqués from Tillya-tepe.<sup>730</sup>

A comparable arrangement with a frame is used on pendants of the first century A.D. from Seleucia on the Tigris,<sup>731</sup> but the idea of a string-bordered rosette can already be traced in the second half of the second century on skyphoi from Siverskaya Stanitsa in southern Russia (fig. 45F).<sup>732</sup> The Seleucia piece can be seen, however, as evidence for a somewhat later dating of the appliqués from treasure IV, and this view is vindicated by a set of openwork pieces with six-pointed stars from Grave 2 at Tillya-tepe.<sup>733</sup> In connection with the other parallels already cited, we should therefore date the Malibu appliqués as contemporaneous with the Tillya-tepe finds.

In general, appliqués with a star ornament are known from the northern Pontic, Scythian region,<sup>734</sup> but star appliqués are also to be found among the decorative repertoire of Macedonia.<sup>735</sup> Among the latter examples, the stars are usually conceived of in several rows, a feature that recurs only on appliqué no. 116. In view of the ties of the entire Malibu complex to central Asiatic finds, it seems likely that the motif was derived from the nomadic decorative tradition, but a relation-

ship to Macedonian motifs cannot be excluded as a possibility in the Hellenistic Orient. A certain relationship of the star appliqués (nos. 112, 113, 114) to western prototypes is confirmed in general by the points with rounded bottoms.

Finally, the round Malibu appliqués also include three undecorated pieces (no. 124). Parallels provide little information because of the lack of ornament, but we can refer here by way of comparison to undecorated examples from Tillya-tepe<sup>736</sup> or the northern Pontic region.<sup>737</sup>

The limited number of round examples (nos. 111–116) and of square, lotus-star appliqués with bead and reel frame (no. 117) is striking. Among the round examples, in fact, no two pieces are identical. In view of the Scytho-Bactrian or Indo-Scythian context of the pieces, a glance at the “statue of Castana” and its belt decorated with different kinds of ornamented round and rectangular appliqués is in order.<sup>738</sup> In contrast to the appliqués in the Getty Museum, several of the statue’s appliqués, however, are decorated with figural representations. In addition, the statue wears clothing with a broad hem decorated with lotus stars. Small, lenticular leaves that have close parallels in the gold examples of the Getty complex (nos. 122, 123) are also represented (fig. 45A).<sup>739</sup>

Given the chronological difficulties with Gandharan and Kushan sculpture and in view of the parallels to Tillya-tepe and Taxila, the ornamental plaques in Malibu must be earlier in date than the statue, but the costume could be reconstructed by analogy to it. An alternative for the individual application of the round appliqués (nos. 111–116) would be their use on a scabbard, as is to be seen on the statue of Kanishka.<sup>740</sup> Both round and square examples were used here as well. The parallels to the so-called statue of Castana seem to be more extensive, however. At the same time, it should be emphasized that it cannot be proved that the appliqués belong to a single find. For example, the use of the large lotus stars (no. 118) in the same fashion as on the textile from Noin Ula (fig. 45E)<sup>741</sup> seems likely.

Whatever the case may be, parallels from central Asia and comparisons with Gandharan art emphasize once again the connections of the Malibu complex to the nomad-influenced art of the steppes, which, because of nomadic incursions into Bactria and the Indo-Pakistan region, can be assumed to have existed in these areas as well.<sup>742</sup>

## CAMEL RIDER

Connections with central Asia are confirmed in addition by the small silver sculpture of a rider on a central Asian—that is, Bactrian—camel that is too small in relation to the figure of the rider (no. 126).<sup>743</sup> The only thing that can be said about the rider is that his long hair recalls the hairstyles on the textiles from Noin Ula,<sup>744</sup> but one should not attach more importance to this feature.

It is of more significance that such miniature sculptures of riders, stags, and other animals are not only to be found in other central Asiatic contexts but even in the Treasure of the Oxus<sup>745</sup> and in the collection of Peter the Great.<sup>746</sup> They usually have small bases or at least the suggestion of a baseline, a detail that is lacking in the case of the rider in Malibu.

## BLOSSOM

There are no parallels known to me for the blossom of paper-thin gold sheet (no. 125), and its purpose is unclear. In general the idea recalls the elaborate golden “plants” from Tillya-tepe.<sup>747</sup>

## HARNESS ORNAMENTS

*Ornamental Buttons.* Along with the costume appliquéés there are also pieces that can be identified with a sufficient degree of certainty as harness ornaments. The first group (nos. 85–88) includes four more or less hemispherical appliquéés that depict a reclining griffin in high relief. The griffin was originally decorated with stone inlays. The buttons were most likely attached at the cross point of the harness straps by means of a cross-bar on the inside, in a fashion similar to that of the small medallions in treasure I (nos. 27–29).<sup>748</sup> The prototypes of our buttons are already to be found in the Altai graves in Pazyryk (fig. 45G).<sup>749</sup>

This form of harness ornament does not seem to occur in Classical burials of the northern Pontic-Scythian region. In the West, the buttons first appear in late Hellenistic contexts, for example in Zubov's Barrow in the Kuban region of southern Russia.<sup>750</sup> We can therefore regard these buttons as a central Asian decorative form, which only reached the northern Pontic steppes in the wake of the Sarmatian migrations. The eastern origins of the pieces are confirmed among other things by the large number of similar examples in the Siberian collection of Peter the Great.<sup>751</sup> Parallels from Tillya-tepe in northern Afghanistan<sup>752</sup> and in Noin Ula<sup>753</sup> suggest a dating of the Malibu buttons to the late

first century B.C. or the first century A.D., a chronological framework that has already been established for the other gold objects. As is the case with the flat Greek harness medallions (nos. 27–29), a complete set of such buttons seems to have been made up of at least four but sometimes six pieces.<sup>754</sup>

The crouching griffins, recognizable by their bird's heads with the typical pointed ears, differ in some details from Greek griffins. For example, they lack wings, and in place of lion's paws, they have hooves. The tail ends in a small griffin's head, a motif that is often to be found on Siberian gold objects.<sup>755</sup> Stone inlays formerly decorated the brows, ears, eyes, and the tail at its tip. The change of paws into hooves is not the result of the use of decorative stones. Although the griffin head corresponds in type to Greek examples, the fabulous being seems to stem primarily from the tradition of hooved animals with bird's heads, as they are to be found already in Pazyryk though still without Greek griffin's heads.<sup>756</sup> Two iconographic traditions seem to fuse here: a central Asian one and the Graeco-Hellenistic repertoire. This process of synthesis is already to be seen in the well-known winged lion-griffins in the Oxus Treasure,<sup>757</sup> creatures that also have hooves and on which the tip of the tail is formed by a leaf, a detail that is already prefigured in a fabulous being from the fifth grave in Pazyryk.<sup>758</sup>

The influence of the Classical griffin type is evident in the Malibu buttons in a further detail: The griffin has a long beard that begins on the chin and continues on the neck. The beard is correctly depicted between the front legs,<sup>759</sup> but the goldsmith somewhat misunderstood the motif and turned it into a mane near the head.

*Appliquéés with Scenes of Attacking Animals.* The four appliquéés depicting an eagle-griffin killing a rabbit (nos. 81–84) must be regarded as harness ornaments on the basis of finds from Pazyryk and of western Scythian parallels. The decisive evidence is provided by harnesses from the first and fifth kurgans in Pazyryk. These examples are decorated with appliquéés in low relief but with three-dimensional animal heads.<sup>760</sup> One of the sets of harnesses from Kurgan 1 even depicts eagle-griffins (fig. 45H),<sup>761</sup> but it does not yet show the influence of the griffin's head of a Greek type, nor is a group with an attacking animal depicted. The bird, Rudenko's “mythological eagle,”<sup>762</sup> is shown without prey but with spread wings. As has already been mentioned, harness appliquéés with three-dimensional animal heads are encountered also in northern Pontic contexts.<sup>763</sup>

In central Asia, the Greek griffin's head with the serrated comb is adopted on the well-known appliqué

from the collection of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg.<sup>764</sup> The adoption of Greek forms is documented in the addition of a cordlike frame of coverts (feathers) on the wings.<sup>765</sup> In view of its size, the St. Petersburg appliqué should also be interpreted as a harness ornament. This piece and a group cut out of leather also depicts the scene of attacking animals for the first time.<sup>766</sup>

In contrast to the splendid example in the collection of Peter the Great, the combs of the Malibu appliques vary considerably from the Greek type (fig. 451). Instead of serrations, there are individual flamelike elements. This ornamental motif could have developed from the rows of stylized bird's heads of Scythian-nomadic fabulous beings,<sup>767</sup> or it could simply be a forerunner of the crenellated mane.<sup>768</sup> In any case, the detail is not known in Hellenistic art. These pieces should be dated along with the other gold objects in the complex. In spite of the use of the Greek griffin's head, the "mythological eagle"<sup>769</sup> points unambiguously to pictorial ideas from central Asia and the nomadic world, and it is worth mentioning that the eagle-griffin has already been encountered in Pazyryk.<sup>770</sup>

#### TREASURE IV: SUMMARY

The gold jewelry and harness ornaments in treasure IV can be classified both chronologically and culturally. The finds were made most likely in the Afghanistan-Pakistan area, and the nomadic origins and central Asian ties of their former owners cannot be doubted. The owners were among those nomads whose forebears had overrun the Graeco-Bactrian Empire and several generations later the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian states. We can associate them with the same peoples who founded the Kushan Empire. Notwithstanding the open question—whether the gold and the bowls from treasure IV do indeed come from the same site—we can identify the former owners with some caution as Indo-Scythians. The gold jewelry and ornaments, and possibly the camel rider, can be dated on the basis of parallels to other objects to the first century A.D. or, allowing for a certain latitude, to the late first century B.C.

In contrast to the central Asian goldwork, the vessels are ultimately bound to a Graeco-Bactrian or, at least in their roots, a Seleucid tradition. The silver vessels (nos. 75–79) should primarily be dated to the first century B.C. or the earliest decades of the Christian era at the latest.

## MEDALLION BOWL WITH DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE

THE SILVER MEDALLION BOWL (NO. 127) IS OF A Hellenistic type that has only recently received scholarly attention. U. Hausmann<sup>771</sup> has cited a number of pottery parallels from the Greek mainland and a silver bowl from the Fayum.<sup>772</sup> He cautiously interpreted the pieces as pyxis lids, arguing that the type is to be dated to the third century B.C. He traces the relief in the interior back to older originals, an interesting observation that is in some respects confirmed by the Malibu bowl.

To the group of monuments from Greece, Egypt, and Italy already cited by Hausmann, a few other examples can be added. A silver bowl of excellent quality with a satyr and a nymph from Asia Minor<sup>773</sup> has a tendril<sup>774</sup> and a leaf calyx<sup>775</sup> on the underside that point to a dating in the second century B.C. A glass bowl, probably Alexandrian, from Tresilico in Calabria dates to the early second century; its medallion shows a hunting scene.<sup>776</sup> Also related is a bronze "fish plate" from Begram, whose lip is decorated by an Ionian cyma, a choice that is typical for metal bowls of our type.<sup>777</sup> The Lesbian cyma on the bent rim could be compared with late Classical or early Hellenistic examples,<sup>778</sup> but given the find site and the possibly retardataire repertoire of Near Eastern pieces, we must be cautious about assuming all too close a chronological connection with ornaments from distant areas. The fins of the fish in the interior are movable. The motif speaks strongly in favor of the use of the vessel as a bowl and not as a pyxis lid. This is confirmed by the fact that not a single piece of this kind has been found with a pyxis to which it could belong.

None of the known examples is combined with a context earlier than 200 B.C. Forerunners of the medallion bowl with an egg and dart lip could be assumed to have existed in the third century, however, since a bronze bowl with handles and a small relief head in the center and a cyma around the lip is known from late Classical times.<sup>779</sup> The history of this type seems not to have ended in late Hellenistic times, for a lead imitation of Imperial date is known from Parthian Dura Europos.<sup>780</sup> In addition, there is a group among the numerous stone bowls from the Gandharan circle that is scarcely imaginable without the Hellenistic prototypes.<sup>781</sup> Pieces that are on the whole formally comparable are known from Palmyra<sup>782</sup> and Egypt.<sup>783</sup> The stone bowls from Afghanistan bear witness to the popularity of this vessel form, especially in the Hellenized Orient, a fact that

should be emphasized.

The medallion of the Malibu bowl depicts Dionysos with Ariadne surrounded by grape vines, both figures facing left. A himation-clad Silenus is shown seated on a rock to the right, turned away from the couple. Dionysos' thyrsos staff is leaning against the rock separating the divine couple and Silenus.

The young and somewhat heavy-bodied Dionysos has approached Ariadne, put his right arm around her shoulder, and is touching her chin with his left hand. The gesture was originally undoubtedly intended to be a tender one as we know it from early Hellenistic bronze hydria attachments depicting Eros and Psyche.<sup>784</sup> Like Psyche, Ariadne has turned her head away from Dionysos. While Eros is gently touching Psyche with his fingertips, the craftsman who made our bowl has interpreted the scene in quite a different fashion: The god has taken Ariadne's jaw in his hand, as if he wanted to force her to turn her head. The almost dancelike step of the god is also at variance with the composition of the hydriai.

Another detail found in the representation of Psyche is used for Ariadne—each has one hand on her hip. The gesture suggests a more reflective attitude in the case of Psyche, and gives an almost provocative impression in the case of Ariadne. The pose used for Ariadne is consistent with the Hellenistic statuary type of Aphrodite with a naked breast.<sup>785</sup> The reflective motif found in representations of Psyche has been turned into a pose that concentrates on the exhibition of feminine beauty. Although certain features common to the early Hellenistic Eros-Psyche attachments and to our relief can be recognized, there are no known ties to later Eros-Psyche groups.<sup>786</sup>

The emphasis on the Aphrodisian sphere is reinforced by the mantle wound around the hips of the figure like a towel, leaving Ariadne's left leg almost entirely exposed. The mantle is not draped over the bent arm but is possibly meant to be held in the left hand, which is not visible. The whole drapery gives an almost nonantique impression. The stance of Ariadne is also remarkable, for the silversmith did not distinguish between a weighted and an unweighted side.

Finally, the relationship of the figure of Ariadne to the sphere of Aphrodite is also emphasized by her rich gold jewelry. A snake bracelet and a bracelet around the upper arm are frequent details in representations of Aphrodite,<sup>787</sup> or Eros.<sup>788</sup> The snake bracelet follows an early Hellenistic model, but the somewhat simpler form with smaller coils is also to be found in the second century.<sup>789</sup> In dealing with such details, we must naturally

keep in mind the limited format of the representation. The thigh band in the form of a chain with large pendants might again provide an indication of the origin of the piece.<sup>790</sup> Chains with large, vessel-shaped pendants are to be found in the Syro-Parthian region.<sup>791</sup>

The attribution of the piece to a workshop in the Hellenized East might also explain the peculiar pose of Ariadne, for similar compositions recur on an appliqué from the Punjab and on a medallion from Taxila.<sup>792</sup> Both date most likely from the early first century A.D., although a late first-century B.C. date cannot be excluded with certainty. In comparison with our Getty medallion, the appliqué from the Punjab gives Dionysos in mirror image. Ariadne's head is shown in profile and the feet are crossed, but in general the composition is rather close to the medallion bowl. The small medallion from Taxila repeats more or less the motif of the appliqué. The eastern parallels not only speak strongly in favor of an eastern workshop for the Getty bowl; it seems even possible to see the Malibu bowl as a forerunner of the altered compositions from the formerly Graeco-Indian sphere. In view of the late date of the eastern redactions, one could posit a date in the first century B.C. for the Malibu bowl. But based on the background of the material from Taxila and Tillya-tepe it seems doubtful that an eastern atelier of the first century B.C. in Bactria or Pakistan still worked in such a true Greek style. Consequently I would prefer an attribution to the second century B.C.

Finally, Silenus demonstrates again in very obvious fashion the ties of the craftsman to the early Hellenistic repertoire. The figure has been added to the group as a kind of attribute. The head is very similar to Silenus-head attachments on late Classical and early Hellenistic bronze vessels.<sup>793</sup> The seated figure has precursors in Classical times<sup>794</sup> and corresponds in its basic features to the drapery of early Hellenistic figures of philosophers.<sup>795</sup> The almost frontal orientation of the figure of Silenus, remarkable for a relief, would not speak against an early dating.<sup>796</sup> It seems almost doubtful that the body and the head are derived from a single original, since the head appears to be large and the body is of a type that is not normally associated with Silenus. The himation and the sandals are also somewhat unusual. The assumption that an older model was used for the Silenus is in keeping with the observations on the pose and jewelry of Ariadne and reaffirms in a way the similar conclusions drawn for the pottery bowls by Hausmann.<sup>797</sup>

The framing grapevine scroll is developed as a "companion" scroll,<sup>798</sup> but it is not to be regarded in the

same terms as a floral tendril since even in Classical times grape and ivy scrolls were subject to different conventions than were other types. The little spirals, for example, are already an integral part of the system in Classical times<sup>799</sup> and have nothing in common with Italian spiral volutes.<sup>800</sup>

The tendrils emerge out of the earth without a basic calyx. The grape leaves have no eyes and are therefore not consistent with the widespread type known in the late fourth and third centuries B.C.<sup>801</sup> A hint as to dating is possibly provided by the two shoots of the tendrils joined above the heads of the Dionysian couple. The interwoven shoots correspond in terms of form to those found on bowls in the second and third groups of treasure I (nos. 11, 13–16; see chart, p. 244). Since the curled ends of the tendrils issue neither leaves nor grapes, the comparison is not entirely satisfactory. The way the scroll ends are formed, however, suggests an eastern workshop in the Seleucid sphere of influence and perhaps a date not earlier than the later second century.

In summary, the bowl belongs to a type that came into use in the late third or early second century B.C. and was used in the Near East even in Roman times. The figural types, although drawn from earlier prototypes that can be traced back to early Hellenistic traditions, suggest a date in the second or first century.

## BULL'S HEAD CUP

IN 1987 THE COLLECTION OF SILVER RHYTA WITH animal protomes in the J. Paul Getty Museum was augmented by a bull's head cup of excellent quality. Although this isolated vase has no recorded provenance and comes from a different art market source than the other vessels listed in this catalogue, the cup terminating in the head of a bull calf can likewise be attributed to the Hellenized East.

The vessel pictures in vigorous detail the head of a bull calf with budding horns. The frothy curls, so typical of grown bulls, already show. The dull and somewhat clumsy appearance of the calf is well captured, although some of the details, such as the somewhat pedantic rendering of the fur by simple parallel lines, betray the superficial style of the ancient craftsman.

The head was raised from a single sheet of silver and functions as a casing for an undecorated inner liner that fits tightly inside it without the help of solder. The rim of this second, undecorated, vessel forms the lip of the combined vase.

As A. Oliver has pointed out, this "two-part construction," as in the case of the silver plates from Civit  Castellana (fig. 27), is well attested, especially since the second century B.C.,<sup>802</sup> having ancestors even in the Achaemenid Near East.<sup>803</sup> The "double construction" is not limited to a single type or class—examples are known among footless bowls, kantharoi, and skyphoi as well as among pyxides, from the late third or early second century B.C. down to early Imperial times.<sup>804</sup> A container, a bit deeper than the liner of our bull's head cup, with a flaring rim comes from a hoard of Augustan silver from Asia Minor.<sup>805</sup>

Consequently, the chronological span covers more than two centuries, but the closer we come to the early Imperial period, the more extensive the use of this technique seems to become. The closest analogies for the liner with a flaring rim stem from the Augustan period. Against this background, a date in the first century B.C. or even A.D. seems by far more likely than a dating of our vase to the preceding century.

The analogies for this double construction are not limited to a special artistic province, and reference can be made to examples in Italy or even from the northern provinces of the Roman Empire. Thus, our tentative determination of the chronological options has little bearing on the localization of the workshop.

Our head vase is linked to the various types of animal head rhyta of the Near Eastern and Greek reper-



toires, but its handleless conception is definitely not Greek. Conceptionally similar head vases with cylindrical vessels, developed directly out of the animals' necks, can be traced in the Near East already in pre-Achaemenid times in the first half of the first millennium B.C. The choice of animals was not restricted to a single species, but the ram plays a dominant role.<sup>806</sup> Terracotta examples of the ram's head variety have been unearthed in Hasanlu,<sup>807</sup> Ziwiye,<sup>808</sup> Nimrud,<sup>809</sup> and in Enkomi on Cyprus,<sup>810</sup> whereas several silver vessels from art market sources with narrow, pre-Achaemenid cannelures on the cylindrical cups have been sold with western Iranian provenances.<sup>811</sup>

Besides the ram's head variety there are several pieces with longer stretched horns, possibly antelopes, that have been partly attributed to Achaemenid workshops.<sup>812</sup> We even know of a terracotta example of a horse's head cup of uncertain date, with a rather long, cylindrical vessel, from Cyprus.<sup>813</sup>

An often cited ram's head cup from the Bukhtarma River in an area close to Ust-Kamenogorsk in southern Siberia reconfirms the ram's head variety for the early Achaemenid repertoire,<sup>814</sup> but in general during the Achaemenid period the animal head cup is found less frequently than rhyta with curved or angular horns. However, a unique horse's head vase of silver that belongs to later Achaemenid times should be mentioned.<sup>815</sup>

In the early fifth century, possibly under the influence of spoils from the campaign of Xerxes, the type was adopted by Greek potters, but they immediately changed the vessel by adding a vertical handle.<sup>816</sup> Although our class of head vases was subsequently known in the Greek world, in the fifth and fourth century B.C. the type played obviously no role in the repertoire of those ateliers whose sway covered northern Greece, Thracia, and Asia Minor, the latter at that time under Achaemenid rule. This situation doubtlessly reflects the restricted popularity of this class even in the Achaemenid world. That does not mean, however, that the type did not survive the eventual collapse of the Achaemenid Empire, for even the rare horse variety is again represented in a Sasanian vessel.<sup>817</sup>

Graeco-Hellenistic examples from the Mediterranean are not known to me, and it must be assumed that the class survived only in the former heartlands of the Achaemenid Empire. Our unique bull's head cup, possibly of the first century B.C. or A.D., bridges this enormous gap between the rare Achaemenid examples and the unique Sasanian follower.

Given the scattered evidence, little can be said

about typological developments. Rather tall, flaring vessels, in comparison to the size of the animal heads of the pre-Achaemenid examples, recur again in the early Achaemenid ram's head cup from Siberia. In view of the considerably later horse's head example and our cup, it seems probable that there occurred a subsequent reduction of the cylindrical parts of the vessels. This observation is corroborated by the Sasanian horse's head example.

In the case of our bull's head vase, its typology and parallels point unmistakably toward a Near Eastern atelier. That we are dealing with a post-Achaemenid vessel, however, is moreover ascertained by the absence of any reflections of the Achaemenid style. Instead of stylized, unnaturalistic details in the rendering of eyes and muscles, instead of artistic curls of fur, we find an overwhelming desire for naturalistic representation.<sup>818</sup> This tendency certainly evidences the dominating Greek influence, also attested to by the Greek belted garland around the animal's neck.

The garland proper belongs to the stage of development we have already analyzed for the phalerae (nos. 30 and 31),<sup>819</sup> but the taeniae with their knot is rather unusual for a belted garland and is clearly derived from the trefoil garlands, as represented on the lion- and stag rhytons (nos. 66, 74). This leads again to the first century B.C. or A.D.

As already pointed out, among the Near Eastern head vases known, our cup with its head of a bull calf seems unique. The picturing of bulls or bull calves was, however, widely known in Achaemenid art and most likely has a religious connotation.<sup>820</sup> As a Hellenistic Near Eastern bull rhyton that is unmistakably reminiscent of Achaemenid examples demonstrates, the use of the bull was not limited to the Achaemenid period.<sup>821</sup> The choice of a bull or a bull calf was nothing new to the repertoire of Near Eastern silversmiths.

To summarize, our typologically Near Eastern vessel was crafted in an entirely Greek but nevertheless somewhat provincial style. This blend of two worlds is easily explained in the context of the Hellenized Near East. If we speak of the Greek-trained craftsman's preference for naturalistic representation, the already mentioned graphic element in the rendering of the details can scarcely be overlooked. Not only the stereotypical engraving of the fur and the graphic picturing of the eyes and veins but also the sharp and unfleshy incisions of the dewlap provide ample evidence of the silversmith's limited understanding of the three-dimensionality of sculpture. His graphic style shows, however, no influences from the highly stylized animal

representations of Achaemenid art. Although entirely committed to naturalism, he has “drawn” the details rather than chased and sculpted them in the round—an observation that could be made for all the other animal representations of treasures I and II.

This struggle with naturalism is all the more obvious if we compare two bull-calf rhyta, one from the northern Pontic region<sup>822</sup> and one from Erebouni in Armenia.<sup>823</sup> Both date from the latter parts of the fifth century B.C. and represent Greek workshop traditions in Asia Minor. Especially the figural scenes on the necks of the vessels are undeniable evidence of second-rate artists, but the pieces nevertheless reveal a much deeper understanding of artistic naturalism and stylization than is evident on the Malibu vase.

Given the evidence at hand, everything seems to point toward a Near Eastern, probably Iranian, atelier of the first century B.C. or the subsequent century, with a slight chance that the cup was made in the late second century B.C. Consequently, we are dealing again with one of the ateliers of the Hellenized Near East, in the Parthian-Arsacid period. Artistically the bull’s head vase shows the transformation of a Near Eastern type in provincial Greek style, thus demonstrating again the long-lasting influence of the Greek view and understanding of art that was implanted in the formerly Achaemenid Near East under Alexander the Great and his successors.

## NOTES

- 1 Harness from the Great Bliznitsa (diameter: 9.0–9.6 cm), St. Petersburg, Hermitage BB 78, 80: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), pp. 164–173, pl. 5.2–4; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 78, pl. 298; B. Piotrowski, L. Galanina, and N. Gratsch, *Skythische Kunst* (Leningrad, 1986), figs. 200, 201. Harness from Panagyurishte, Bulgaria (diameter: 8.6 cm), Sofia, Archaeological Museum 3559: B. Filow, *RömMitt* 32 (1917), pp. 39–40, no. 22, pl. 1.7; I. Venedikov and T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst* (Vienna, 1983), p. 354, pl. 293; *Gold der Thraker*, exh. cat., Cologne, Munich, and Hildesheim (Mainz, 1979), p. 177, no. 355, ill. with a flat eye on the back for attachment.
- 2 On southern Russian phalerae of the type under discussion here, see Spizyn (1909), pp. 18–29, figs. 25, 41, 47, 49; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, pp. 136–138, 232, n. 10, pl. 27; idem, in *Recueil N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), pp. 239–257; Rostowzew, *Skythien* (index, s.v. “Phalaren”); T. Suliminski, *The Sarmatians* (London, 1970), pp. 140–141, pl. 36; J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, Acta Universitatis de Attila József nominatae, Acta antiqua et archaeologica (Szeged, 1970), pp. 34–39. On equestrian terracotta statuettes with phalerae, see Reinach, *ABC*, p. 113, pl. 64.2; F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, vol. 2 (= *Die antiken Terrakotten*, vol. 3, pt. 2) (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903), p. 299, no. 2 (with replicas); L. Stephani, *CR* (1870–71), p. 168, pl. 2.7; Stephani, *CR* (1873), pp. 24–25, pl. 2.4 (from Mount Mithridates); M. M. Kobilina, *Terrakotov’ie Statuetki Pantikapeja i Fanagorii* (Moscow, 1961), p. 120, pl. 22.2 (four phalerae). See also note 75, below.
- 3 See below, notes 10, 26, 27.
- 4 Paris, Musée du Louvre A.O. 10221 (from Palestine with four phalerae): M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1931), pp. 195, 199, pl. 25.1; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 104, fig. 119. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (from Aleppo art market with four phalerae): E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), p. 34, pl. 20 left; F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1922), p. 25, pl. 54 left; Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1931), p. 194. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum (from Syrian art market with four phalerae): Sarre, *Die Kunst*, p. 25, pl. 54 right; Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1931), pp. 194–195; F. Sarre in Pope, *Survey*, p. 410, pl. 134A; P. Ackerman in Pope, *Survey*, p. 219, pl. 134A; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 264, fig. 340. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.454 (from Ain el-Beda, Syria, with four phalerae at the flanks and a fifth one at the breast): Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 11, pl. 1.1; *Cambridge Ancient History Plates*, vol. 1 (1927), pl. 248c; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1931), p. 194, n. 1; P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 87 (Oxford, 1980), p. 104, no. 438A, fig. 17. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Babylonian Section 15487 (from Nippur): L. Legrain, *Terra-Cottas from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 32, no. 267, pl. 51. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum

- 14210 and 15678: W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor and London, 1939), pp. 153–155, nos. 476, 484, pl. 34, figs. 245, 248. Baghdad Museum (from Seleucia): Colledge, *Parthians*, p. 225, pl. 20a (two phalerae). Paris, Musée du Louvre (from Cappadocia): Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 11, pl. 1.3. New Haven, Yale University, Babylonian Collection 2992 (woman on horseback): E. D. van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (New Haven, 1930), p. 63, pl. 17, figs. 81, 82. From Masjid-i Solaiman, Iran: R. Ghirshman, *IrAnt* 10 (1973), p. 103, fig. 5; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Syria* 38 (1961), p. 250, fig. 8. London, British Museum 56–9–3, 122 (horseman from Nimrud with phalera on the forepart of the horse). London, British Museum 135684 (from Syria?) (mounted archer of the first century B.C. or A.D., in light of the sword, which resembles closely the examples from Tillyatepe [see below, note 313] or from Nemrud Dag): Ghirshman, *Iran*, pp. 66–67, figs. 79, 80. Possibly phalerae are represented on a terracotta relief in London, British Museum 91908 (from Babylonia): M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 4 (New Haven, 1933), p. 219, pl. 22.1; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 106, fig. 122. A statuette without recorded provenance in Copenhagen, National Museum: Colledge, *Parthians*, p. 225, pl. 20b (two phalerae).
- 5 R. Ghirshman, *IrAnt* 14 (1979), pp. 172, 176, pl. 2.2, 3. Perhaps the motif is here understood as a suggestion of muscles. See pls. 2.3, 3.4.
  - 6 Lynx phalera: Frankfurt art market in 1988. The loop arrangement speaks for an application on the breast of the horse, just as on the representation of a Parthian horseman on a silver plate in private possession (see below, note 207). Reliefs: L. Vanden Berghe, *archéologie de l’Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959), p. 60, pl. 89b (relief in Tang-i Sarvak, possibly traces of a phalera); L. Vanden Berghe, *IrAnt* 3 (1963), p. 156, pl. 53 (relief in Hung-i Nauruzi, traces of a phalera); P. Calmeyer, *AMIran* 7 (1974), p. 67, n. 83.
  - 7 Noin Ula, Kurgan 6, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Ebert, *RV*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1927), p. 547, pl. 180, s.v. “Noin Ula” (with references to older literature); M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China* (New York, 1929), p. 87, pl. 24A.2 (Iranian); Trever, *Pamjatniki*, p. 141, no. 48, pls. 39, 40; M. Rostovtzeff, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 300; E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124; Barnett (1968), p. 51, pl. 14.1; Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 93–94, 108, pl. 63. The Bactrian attribution of the scrolls will be discussed in another context. A silver disk from Kurgan 6 should perhaps be understood as a phalera; St. Petersburg, Hermitage: O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1964–65), p. 368; Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 72–73, 79–80, 109, no. 100, pl. 36.3.
  - 8 For the dating: G. Pougatchenkova, *IrAnt* 5 (1965), pp. 116–127. For the phalerae: G. A. Pugacenkova, *Iskusstvo Baktrii Epochi Kushan* (Moscow, 1979), p. 90, figs. 103, 112; V. M. Masson, *Das Land der tausend Städte* (Munich, 1982), p. 92 with fig; A. E. Dien, *Ars Orientalis* 16 (1986), p. 36, fig. 14.
  - 9 Lahore Museum 116, 2340: H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), pp. 61–62, figs. 49, 51 (horse). Peshawar Museum 16, 1719: *ibid.*, p. 54, fig. 23 (ram); p. 170, fig. 450 (elephant). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art:

Hallade, *Indien*, p. 132, fig. 92 (horse). London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Hallade, *Indien*, pp. 130–131, figs. 88, 91 (horse and ram). Paris, Musée Guimet MG. 18509 (horse).

10 Iron covered with silver: Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 615, no. 22, pl. 187 (diameter: 11.7 cm). Iron: *ibid.*, p. 550, nos. 94, 95, pl. 165 (diameter: 7 and 15 cm; “late Saka Parthian”). Copper: *ibid.*, p. 602, no. 388, pl. 177 (diameter: 7.7 cm). A small iron disk also belonged to a harness (*ibid.*, p. 550, no. 93, pl. 165). Marshall’s interpretation of the objects as shield ornaments can be abandoned.

11 Sasanian vessels, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: J. Orbeli and C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1935), pp. XXXIX–XL, XLVII, pls. 3, 5, 9, 83; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 212, fig. 253; Cleveland Museum of Art: *ibid.*, p. 220, fig. 262; *idem*, *Iran* 10 (1973), p. 106, pl. 51 (see below, note 191). Reliefs in Naqsh-e Rostam: *idem*, *Iran*, p. 161, fig. 205; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 11, pl. 2.1.

12 Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 4 (New Haven, 1933), pp. 215–221, pl. 21.1 (possibly brandmarks); pl. 21.3 (four phalerae); pl. 22.2 (four phalerae). Rostovtzeff speaks of “tamgas,” i.e., brandmarks; pls. 21.3 and 22.2 clearly show, however, that we are dealing here with phalerae attached to straps. See also the Mithraeum in Dura: F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos 1922–1923* (Paris, 1926), p. 265 and n. 2, pl. 98. 3; F. Cumont and M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vols. 7 and 8 (New Haven, 1939), p. 112, pl. 14.1; Colledge, *Parthians*, p. 162, pl. 69. Also C. H. Kraeling, “The Synagogue,” *Dura: Final Report*, vol. 8 (New Haven, 1956), pp. 95–99, pl. 55; B. Goldman and A. M. G. Little, *Iran* 15 (1980), p. 289, fig. 4 (temple of Azzanath-kona); P. Calmeyer, *AMIran* 7 (1974), p. 67, n. 83. In addition to these monuments, there are equestrian representations without phalerae: Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1931), pp. 194–195, pls. 41.2, 43.2; *idem*, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 4 (New Haven, 1933), pp. 214–215, pls. 20.3, 21.2; Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos 1922–1923*, p. 265, pl. 98.2.

13 H. Seyrig, *Syria* 18 (1937), p. 14, pl. 3.1, 3, 4; H. Seyrig and J. Starcky, *Syria* 26 (1949), p. 230, pl. 11 (from Djoubb el-Djarrah, in the area of Homs); R. Ghirshman, *Iran* 10 (1973), p. 105, pl. 52.1 (four phalerae); P. Calmeyer, *AMIran* 7 (1974), p. 67, n. 83, no. 1.

14 P. Calmeyer, *AMIran* 7 (1974), p. 66, pl. 15.2–5 (with parallels); D. Metzler in S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim, and J. Wagner, eds., *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien*, vol. 2, *Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain, vol. 66 (Leiden, 1978), pp. 619–638, pl. 150.1–3.

15 Compare the Roman funerary reliefs listed by M. Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine: Die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des triumphierenden Reiters* (Bonn, 1984), pp. 71–222, nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 17–19, 26, 27, 36, 42, 45–47, 51, 74–79, 92, 99 (with illustrations). For a reconstruction of a horse trapping, see G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (London, 1969), p. 152, pl. 18.

16 In addition to the flat type there are deep, almost bowl-

like examples of later date, which can be disregarded here. See Spizyn (1909), p. 27, figs. 58, 61.

17 For example, the deep phalerae (see above, note 16) and the examples from Akhtanizovka (see below, note 20). These pieces were made for harnesses different in type from those of the Getty phalerae.

18 See text corresponding to note 63.

19 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: *CR* (1904), p. 124, fig. 217; Spizyn (1909), p. 23, figs. 47, 49; Minns, *Scythians*, p. 173, n. 3, p. 403; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 136.

20 St. Petersburg, Hermitage AXI 18 (diameter: 17–17.5 cm): Spizyn (1909), 19–20, no. 1, fig. 25; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 136 (purely Greek, perhaps an import); Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 553; D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London, 1966), p. 111 (first century B.C.); K. S. Gorbunova and I. I. Saverkina, *Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1975), pl. 101 (first century B.C.). The tomb is much older: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 171, nn. 1150, 1151 (late third or early second century B.C.).

21 Moscow, Historical Museum (diameter: 15–18 cm?): Spizyn (1909), p. 25, fig. 41; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, pp. 136–137, pl. 27.4 (second or first century B.C.); *idem* in *Recueil N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), pp. 247–248, pl. 25 (= pl. 4) upper right; Ebert, *RV*, vol. 13 (Berlin, 1929), p. 110, pl. 41C.b (s.v. “Südrussland”); Rostowzew, *Skythien*, pp. 549–550; K. F. Smirnov, *Severskij Kurgan* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 32–37, pl. 8 (with coins of Pairisades V [125–109 B.C.]). On the dating of the coins in general: A. N. Zograph, *Ancient Coinage*, vol. 2, British Archaeological Reports, suppl. series 33, no. 2 (Oxford, 1977), p. 296, pl. 42.25.

22 See the Palmyrene reliefs cited above, note 13.

23 See above, notes 2, 4, 6, 9, 12.

24 Listed here are representations of Scythian harnesses in southern Russia in late Classical and early Hellenistic times. Chertomlyk amphora in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863, 1/166: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 52, pl. 175. Silver vase from Solokha, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1913, 1/40: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 47, pls. 154, 155. Silver rhyton, Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 2226: M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), p. 271, fig. 36 (controversial authenticity). Gold-sheet appliqué with a horse that has what appear to be small medallions on its chest strap which do not belong to our type: J. Sabatier, *Souvenirs de Kertsch et chronologie du Royaume de Bosphore* (St. Petersburg, 1849), pl. 4.1. See also the rhyton of the late third or early second century from Merdzany, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1876, 1/9 (for the rhyton, see below, notes 195, 517). Harness reconstructions in more recent literature: E. V. Cernenko, A. McBride, and M. V. Gorelik, *The Scythians, 700–300 B.C.* (London, 1983), pls. A–G. There do not seem to be documented examples of phalerae of our type at strap crossings, and only in the sixth century B.C. can larger disks be interpreted as strap ornaments (*ibid.*, pl. A). The very reconstruction of the straps is, of course, hypothetical.

25 For Akhtanizovka Stanitsa, see above, note 20. For Janchehrad, see Spizyn (1909), p. 28, fig. 81; Ebert, *RV*, vol. 13 (Berlin, 1929), p. 101, pl. 41C.a. For the pair with the Mithridates inscription in Paris, Cabinet des médailles: F. Drexel,

*Jdl* 30 (1915), pp. 14–16, fig. 7 (inscription authentic); Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, pp. 136–137, pl. 27.1, 2 (inscription not authentic); idem in *Recueil N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), pp. 245, 257; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 260, fig. 337 (second century B.C.). Larger than the Paris pair (diameter: 15.55 cm) is a stylistically similar example from Raermond, in Leiden, Rijksmuseum: Drexel, *Jdl* 30 (1915), pp. 14–15, fig. 6; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 136, pl. 27.3; idem in *Recueil*, p. 245. The animal style of these examples reflects Sarmatian rather than Scythian traditions. A late Hellenistic date seems likely. For Fedulovo, see above, note 19. For Siverskaya Stanitsa, see above, note 21. For Vozdvizhenskaya Stanitsa, see B. Pósta, *Archäologische Studien auf russischem Boden* (Budapest and Leipzig, 1905), p. 574, fig. 320.6 (found under the feet of the deceased); Rostovtzeff, *Iranians*, p. 136; N. Fettich, *Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn*, *Archeologia Hungarica*, vol. 21 (Budapest, 1937), p. 145, pl. 1.1; K. F. Smirnov, *Severskij Kurgan* (Moscow, 1953), p. 36, fig. 12. An example from the Kuban should also be interpreted as a phalera (see below, note 56). For Voronezhskaya Stanitsa, see *Gold und Kunsthandwerk vom antiken Kuban: Neue archäologische Entdeckungen aus der Sowjetunion*, exh. cat., Mannheim (Stuttgart, 1989), p. 136, no. 134, fig. 47 (second or first century B.C.). For a pair of phalerae from Novouzensk (diameter: 24 cm) in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Spizyn (1909), p. 29, fig. 79; Smirnov, *Srebro*, p. 18, pl. 124, fig. 56; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, pp. 48–50, nos. 3, 4, pls. 3, 4, 5 bottom; M. Rostovtzeff, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 298; E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124; G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche dalle minoiche alle barbariche* (Rome, 1955), p. 206, no. 458, pl. 129; Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 75, figs. 41, 42; Barnett (1968), p. 49, pl. 13.1. For Volodarka, see *Archeologicheskie otkritia* (1981), pp. 440–441 with ill.

26 Undecorated pair of phalerae (diameter: 29.2 and 29 cm) from Siberia, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Spizyn (1909), p. 29, figs. 70, 71; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, pp. 50–51, no. 5, pl. 6. For the finds from the Tenlik Kurgan (Alma Ata, Museum of Archaeology), see K. A. Akishev, *Issyk Mound: The Art of the Saka in Kazakhstan* (Moscow, 1978), p. 130, pl. 120 (second century B.C.). There is probably another representation of a phalera on a Siberian gold appliqué, but without recognizable indication of the strap work; St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/132: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 35, fig. 29, pl. 22.18 (second horse from left).

27 St. Petersburg, Hermitage (diameter: 24.7 cm): Spizyn (1909), p. 29, figs. 74–76; Smirnov, *Srebro*, p. 18, pl. 120, fig. 47; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, p. 45–48, nos. 1, 2, pls. 1, 2, 5 top; Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text and pl. 53.1 (Bactrian or Syrian); idem, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 297 (possibly Syrian); E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124 (of unclear origin); Becatti, (note 25), p. 206, no. 457, pl. 129; Lukonin, *Persien*, pp. 74–75, figs. 38, 40 (third or second century B.C.); Barnett (1968), p. 48, pl. 13.2; *Cambridge Ancient History Plates*, vol. 7, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1984), p. 30, no. 32 with ill. (third or second century B.C.); H. H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 244, pl. 12. For the garland, see below, note 40. An isolated late-Hellenistic medallion with the image of Dionysos from the area of Dushanbe that came just recently to my knowledge has, according to the description,

loops for trappings on its back, but the rivets do not show on the surface, and the type remains unclear (not listed in fig. 1 of this catalogue): B. Stawiski, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Kuschan* (Leipzig, 1979), p. 155, fig. 131; *Oxus: 2000 Jahre Kunst am Oxus-Fluß in Mittelasien. Neue Funde aus der Sowjetrepublik Tadschikistan*, exh. cat., Museum Rietberg, Zurich (1989), p. 54, no. 26 with ill. (first century B.C. or A.D.).

28 For the helmet, cf. the coins of the Bactrian king Eukratides: Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 209, pl. 11; G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 3 (London, 1965), p. 279, fig. 1986 (circa 165–150 B.C.). See also the helmets of Indo-Greek kings: *ibid.*, figs. 1990, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996.

29 Scullard (note 27), pp. 123–125, 134–135, 137–145.

30 For a representation of an Indian elephant in Ptolemaic faience, see below, note 101.

31 C. Hopkins, *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1972), pp. 135–137, figs. 53, 54, 58 (motif brought to the West by the Parthians). On Surk Kotal, mentioned by Hopkins (n. 42), see C. Fussman, *Surk Kotal: Tempel der Kuschan-Zeit in Baktrien*, *Materialien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*, vol. 19 (Munich, 1983), p. 20, fig. 2; p. 31, fig. 9.

32 Compare Achaemenid censers from Ikiz Tepe near Uşak, Ankara Museum: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 71 (1967), p. 172, pl. 59, figs. 20, 21; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 207, KT 53; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1980.11.12: Bothmer (1984), p. 44, no. 68 with ill.: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 207, KT 54. On representations, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 26, n. 138.

33 In Scullard (note 27) the Parthians are not even listed in the index.

34 Illustrative of these relations is the fact that Euthydemus during the siege of Bactra threatened Antiochos III with the nomads (Polybios 11.34.5). See Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 117.

35 Pazyryk, Tomb 5. St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 289, pl. 154. Cf. the reconstructions in R. Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen* (Lucerne and Frankfurt, 1980), pp. 62–65.

36 The irregularly shaped wooden plaques attached in front and behind the saddle could represent early stages of the development of the phalera fashion. St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 129, fig. 66; p. 173, fig. 88. Rudenko dated the graves to the fifth century B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. XXXVI and 293–309). See also P. R. S. Moorey, *Iran* 5 (1967), p. 94. On the basis of unambiguous echoes of Greek forms, G. Azarpay (*Artibus Asiae* 22 [1959], pp. 313–339) suggested a chronological framework of the early fourth to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.—in any case prior to Alexander the Great. While his “Classical” parallels are in part from Imperial times (*ibid.*, fig. 1) and others are not necessarily relevant in terms of absolute chronology, there can be no doubt about the strong presence of Greek elements. In my opinion, they are conceivable to this degree only after the establishment of Greek settlements in Bactria. A similar dating was suggested by Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, pp. 99, 160–168, 192, 240–247, nos. 1, 47–55, 75, 113–115, 118 (end of fourth century as terminus post quem or third century in the case of no. 75).

37 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z–548: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 61, pl. 22.8, 9. That the phalerae came into fashion in Bactria is moreover evidenced by the small team of golden horses

from the Oxus Treasure. London, British Museum 123908: Dalton, *Treasure*, pp. 3–4, no. 7, pl. 4. The phalerae are very small, however, and the strap arrangement does not entirely follow the central Asiatic scheme. For a representation of a horse without phalerae from the treasure (British Museum 123947): Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 18, no. 46, pl. 13. Precursors of the phalerae fashion, also without the typical strap arrangement, can be seen on some of the horsemen on the golden sword sheath from the treasure (British Museum 123923): Dalton, *Treasure*, pp. 9–11, no. 22, pl. 9. This point will be discussed in another context.

38 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pl. 154 (horseman); pp. 273–274, pl. 173 (male sphinx). See below, note 144.

39 An equestrian representation from the Oxus region without phalerae: R. Ghirshman, *IrAnt* 10 (1973), pp. 102–103, fig. 4 (end of fourth, beginning of third century B.C.).

40 For the already Classical motif, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 38.

41 Relief from Xanthos: F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (Würzburg, 1972), pp. 23–24, pl. 3.2 (470–460 B.C.). On the development of the motif: L. Budde, *AntP* 2 (1963), pp. 55–73, pls. 38–44.

42 Budde, *AntP* 2 (1963), pp. 59–61, figs. 6–9. See also appliqué from Lukovit, Thrace, Sofia, Archaeological Museum 8215, 8216: *Gold der Thraker* (note 1), p. 165, no. 329, fig. 329 (very provincial). Gold scabbard from Ordzhonikidze, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures AZS 2493: *From the Land of the Scythians*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art (1975), p. 126, no. 170, pl. 30; B. M. Mozolev'skij, *Tovsta Mogila* (Kiev, 1979), p. 69, figs. 52.2, 55, 56 bottom. Gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group in St. Petersburg, Hermitage SBr IV–7: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 40, pl. 120; Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 266, fig. 135E; from Pazyryk: idem, p. 229, fig. 108 (elk). Terracotta appliqué from Tarentum: R. Lullies, *Vergoldete Terracotta-Appliken aus Tarent*, 7th suppl., *RömMitt* (Heidelberg, 1962), p. 10, pl. 1.2 (Basel, Collection H. Erlenmeyer); p. 12, pl. 3.2 (Cureglia, Lugano, Collection Frhr. H. v. Schoen); p. 11, pl. 5.3 (Naples, Museo Nazionale C.S. 366); p. 14, pl. 8.4 (three animals; Meggen, Lucerne, Collection R. Käppeli); p. 30, pl. 28.4 (formerly Zurich, art market). On a relief in Berlin, see below, note 63.

43 Relief from Xanthos (see above, note 41). Vase from Kul Oba in St. Petersburg, Hermitage K–O 97: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pl. 245; Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 266, fig. 135C. Coins from Tarsus: C. W. Starr, *IrAnt* 12 (1977), p. 95, pl. 15K. Silver sheet in the D. Selikowitz Collection, supposed to have come from the Dalaiman region of Iran: *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1961–62), p. 124, no. 733A, pl. 77 (see below, note 53). Also to be found on a sarcophagus from Taman, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Kek. 9: M. Vulina and A. Wasowicz, *Bois Grecs et Romains de l'Ermitage* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 73, fig. 23 top.

44 See above, notes 42, 43. Cf. the noncanonical representation on the fish from Vetersfelde, Berlin, *Antikensammlung Misc.* 7839: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, p. 62, pl. 39.

45 Rhyton in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1248: H. Hoff-

mann, *Tarentine Rhyta* (Mainz, 1966), p. 20, no. 69, pl. 12.3. Sarcophagus from the Great Bliznitsa, St. Petersburg, Hermitage BB 72–74: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), pp. 191, 192, pl. 6.4; Vulina and Wasowicz (note 43), p. 83, pl. 51a.

46 On the sarcophagus from Taman, see above, note 43. Gorytus from Solokha, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1913, 1/49, 51: Lullies (note 42), p. 76, n. 182; p. 84, pl. 38.1; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 49, pl. 161. Amphora from Chertomlyk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863, 1/166: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 52, pl. 170 (griffins). Pebble mosaic from Corinth: M. Robertson, *JHS* 87 (1967), p. 136, pl. 23.5 (griffins and horse). Tarentine terracotta appliqué in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum V 2897: Lullies (note 42), p. 30, pl. 26.3 (lion and griffin).

47 Reliefs from Persepolis: R. Ghirshman, *Iran: Protoiranien, Meder, Achämeniden* (Munich, 1964), p. 193, fig. 240; p. 213, fig. 260. Silver phiale: *7000 Jahre Kunst in Iran*, exh. cat., Villa Hügel, Essen (1962), p. 116, no. 330 with ill. Seal from Ur: L. Legrain, *Seal Cylinders: Ur Excavations*, vol. 10 (New York, 1951), p. 51, no. 796, pl. 41 (always a bull and a lion). See in addition a Hellenistic buckle found in the northern Pontic region: Rudenko (1958), p. 118, fig. 7; idem, *Sammlung*, p. 16, fig. 4 (a lion with turned-back head, attacked by an Achaemenid lion-griffin).

48 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 230, fig. 109; p. 231, fig. 113; p. 234, pl. 170. See in addition a Parthian seal from Nisa: M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, *VDI* 50, no. 4 (1954), p. 163, no. 9, fig. 9.

49 See below, note 53.

50 Gold stags from Kostromskaya, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1897, 1/1: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 29, pls. 62–64, and from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K–O 120: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 73, pls. 264–265.

51 See above, note 50. It should be noted that this feature is lacking among the Pazyryk finds. Compare from Tomb 1, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pls. 165, 169, 170.

52 On belted garlands, see above, note 40. This frame recurs on a high-Hellenistic silver medallion from Syria, Cracow Museum XI–443 (formerly Collection Czartoryski): J. de Witte, *GazArch* 6 (1880), pp. 141–142, pl. 24 top; Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, p. 149 (Imperial in date); Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 138 (not later than second half of third century). The motif is occasionally also to be found in southern Russia (see notes 19, 25 [Volodarka], above, and 56 below). Related is the guilloche on the phalera from Vozdvizhenskaya Stanitsa (see above, note 25). At present, the garland motif is not known from Ptolemaic finds either. Compare other frames from plaster casts from Memphis/Mit Rahine in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1109/10; 1142; 2952: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, p. 294, no. 3, fig. 4 (egg and dart); pp. 306–307, nos. 26–27, figs. 36–37 (beading); p. 314, no. 42, fig. 61 (woven band).

53 On Pazyryk, in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pp. 229–231, figs. 108, 112 (here probably a tiger and not a lion). On the relief, see above, note 43. On a possible dating of the relief in the third century we can cite a rare variant of the Greek arazea blossom (above the back of the lion). Compare a blossom from the Great Bliznitsa (plundered tomb): Minns, *Scythians*, p. 423, fig. 313; M. Rostovtzeff,

*Antichnaja dekorativnaja zhivopis na jube Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pl. 7.3 (with a large red center on the blossom). For the tomb: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 272, n. 2411, FK 130.

54 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: M. P. Griaznov and E. A. Golomshok, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 37, pl. 2A; Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 229, fig. 108. In keeping with the local fauna, there is an elk instead of a stag.

55 See, e.g., St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 120, fig. 58; p. 129, fig. 66; p. 173, figs. 87, 88.

56 Ornamentally decorated prometopidia or objects that could be interpreted as prometopidia are sometimes pre-Hellenistic. Plaques from the Kuban area (Maikop), Berlin, Antikensammlung Misc. 30595 a.b: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 56, figs. 31, 32 (fifth century B.C.). Mold for clay "imitations," Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4993: Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, "Sonderliste E 24" (August 1962), no. 57 (fifth or fourth century B.C.). For a phalera with ornamental decoration, see an example of the second century from Uspenskaya Stanitsa, Kuban (leaf calyx framed by a belted garland): Spizyn (1909), p. 53, fig. 77; Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 583; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 257, KBk 78.

57 For example, see plaster casts of prometopidia in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1115, 1145, 1148: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, p. 294, no. 4, fig. 7; pp. 326–327, no. 68, fig. 99; p. 327, no. 69, fig. 100; Princeton, University Art Museum: idem, pp. 209–210, fig. 103. Silver prometopidion in Basel, Antikenmuseum: idem, p. 178, fig. 92.

58 In southern Russia (if not otherwise noted, St. Petersburg, Hermitage): Gold plaques from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group (lion and deer) (see above, note 42). From the same kurgan (SBr IV–5): Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 40, pl. 122. Gold bowl from Solokha (Dn 1913, 1/48): Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 48, pls. 158, 159. Solokha gorytus (see above, note 46): *ibid.*, p. 49, pl. 160 (with griffin). Sword scabbard from Kul Oba (K-O 32, 33): *ibid.*, p. 70, pls. 208, 209 (with griffin). Kul Oba vase (K-O 97): *ibid.*, p. 72, pls. 242–245; on the same vase with griffins: *ibid.*, p. 72, pl. 246. Chertomlyk amphora: group with attacking griffins (Dn 1863, 1/166): *ibid.*, p. 52, pls. 169, 170. Chertomlyk gorytus (Dn 1863, 1/435): *ibid.*, p. 55, pl. 181. Chertomlyk sword (Dn 1863, 1/448): *ibid.*, p. 55, pl. 185. Bracelets from Kul Oba (K-O 3, 4): *ibid.*, p. 71, pls. 237, 238. Pectoral from Ordzhonikidze, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures AZS 2494: *Land of the Scythians* (note 42), p. 126, no. 171, pls. 31, 32; Pfrommer (1982), p. 157, fig. 30 (with references). Pazyryk, Altai, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pp. 229–231, figs. 108–112 (lion and deer, elk, or ram); *ibid.*, p. 234, pls. 169A, 170 (goat).

59 See above, note 25.

60 Only a few examples can be mentioned here: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, pls. 10, 21, 50, 54, 72, 76, 79, etc. On representations of stags in general: K. Schefold, *ESA* 12 (1938), pp. 34–45; M. Loehr, *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 9 (1955), pp. 63–76. On the stag in the Greek world, see F. Brein, *Der Hirsch in der griechischen Frühzeit* (Vienna, 1969).

61 For examples of stags, see D. Sellwood in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (1983), p. 286, pl. 3.2 (Gotarzes I); p.

289, pl. 4.7 (Phraates III). Note should also be taken of gazelle or stag pendants from Parthian Dura Europos: N. P. Toll, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (New Haven, 1946), p. 52, no. 2, pl. 45 (Yale University 1938.5174); p. 79, no. 3, pl. 54 (Yale University 1938.5190). Seals from Nisa: M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, *VDI* 50, no. 4 (1954), p. 168, fig. 50. The same nomadic element is already recognizable in the Oxus Treasure, London, British Museum 123912/14: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 6, no. 11, pl. 6; no. 13, pl. 21. An interesting comparison for Dalton no. 13 is St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z-556 (from western Siberia): Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 62, pl. 22.12. On the problem of a possible Parthian animal style, see a bone carving and a bronze handle from Dura Europos: M. I. Rostovtzeff, *YaleClSt* 5 (1935), p. 222, fig. 33; C. Hopkins in *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vols. 7 and 8 (New Haven, 1939), pp. 376–381, pl. 39; F. Altheim, *Die Krise der alten Welt*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1943), p. 20, pls. 2, 3; Altheim-Stiehl, p. 460.

62 See above, note 20.

63 Lion on the back of a bull, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: F. Winter, *Die Skulpturen*, AvP, vol. 7, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1908), pp. 270–271, no. 343, Beiblatt 37; Hölscher (note 41), p. 85, pl. 11.3.

64 On nos. 30–31, see text corresponding to note 45. On nos. 32–33 see text corresponding to note 54.

65 On the historical background, see J. Wolski in F. Altheim and J. Rehork, eds., *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien* (Darmstadt, 1969), pp. 188–254, esp. pp. 250–251 with nn. 151, 152. See also text corresponding to note 255.

66 See text corresponding to note 52.

67 It is not possible to say anything about the use of the large gold-sheet medallions in the shape of Achaemenid phialai from the Achalgori Treasure in the Tiflis Museum: J. I. Smirnov, *Der Schatz von Achalgori* (Tiflis, 1934), pp. 42–44, nos. 58, 59, pls. 5, 6 (diameters: 14.5 and 16.6 cm). On the type of the bowl with an umbo: H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode, 1939). On a stone bowl without omphalos but with a central rosette: C. Makaronas, *Deltion* 16 (1960), p. 82, pl. 81; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 110.

68 On phialai with egg and dart decoration at the lip, see text corresponding to notes 613–617.

69 Typ-chona on the Kafirnigan River, Tomb 4/1945: M. M. D'jankonov, *Materiali i Issledovaniya po Archeologii SSSR*, vol. 12 (Moscow, 1950), pp. 155, 170, pl. 89.1 (diameter: 10.5 cm) (found with a coin of the Bactrian king Eukratides). In spite of the first-century date, proposed by D'jankonov, a burial in the second century seems reasonable.

70 From Hasanlu, Teheran Museum: R. Ghirshman, *Village perse-achéménide*, Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran, vol. 36 (Paris, 1954), p. 52, pl. 23.2.

71 Small gold plaque from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 46: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pl. 252. Amphora from Chertomlyk (see above, note 46): *ibid.*, p. 52, pl. 171 (head of Pegasos in a zigzag wreath in the shape of a griffin's comb). See a surprising parallel from the Altai, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 313, pl. 171 (ram's head).

72 Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text to pl. 62.3.

73 Rostovtzeff in *Recueil N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926),



pp. 239–258, pls. 1–7 (= pls. 22–28); idem, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 298. In contrast, see E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124, who, with reference to Indian examples, regarded the origin of the phalerae as unclear.

74 Harmatta (note 2), pp. 34–39.

75 Harmatta (note 2), p. 35, saw a concentration of the phalerae in the western part of the Scythian world but—like Rostovtzeff—he did not realize the concentration of the three-loop type in the regions east of Panticapaeum and the Don. On the other hand, Sarmatian tribes, or at least peoples of central Asiatic origin, seem to have menaced Olbia as early as the beginning of the second century (Harmatta [note 2], pp. 10–11). It is possible, therefore, that a terracotta statuette of a mounted boy whose horse bears phalerae, formerly in the Collection Vogell in Olbia (now Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum), was actually found at Olbia, but it should be kept in mind that there is no specified provenance given in the catalogue and that this collection housed terracottas from Kerch/Panticapaeum as well (Boehlau in M. Cramer, *Griechische Altertümer südrußischen Fundorts aus dem Besitz des Herrn A. Vogell* [Kassel, 1908], p. 66, no. 709).

76 Harmatta (note 2), p. 39, sees a dependence of the finds from southern Russia on Indo-Scythian phalerae, a theory that can be discarded here because the Indo-Scythian examples are definitely of a more recent date than the earlier examples from the northern Pontic region.

77 In Bactria proper the first objects that might be seen as phalerae can be dated in the Hellenistic period (see above, note 39).

78 This name is transmitted by Xenophon (περὶ ἱππικῆς) 12.8 in general, in the *Cyropaideia* 6.4.1 and *Anabasis* 1.8.7 specifically for Persian horses. Even Heliodorus (260.5) uses this name for a front ornament of unknown form in his description of Parthian cavalry: F. Altheim, *Die Krise der Alten Welt*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1943), pp. 24–26, esp. p. 26. On descriptions of Parthian horsemen by Ammianus Marcellinus and Julian, see: Rostovtzeff, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 4 (New Haven, 1933), pp. 217–221, esp. pp. 220–221.

79 The making of even precious metal objects for use in burials was quite common. See, e.g., the finds from a tomb in Anapa in the Bosporan Kingdom, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 260–261, FK 116. Among the Scythians, this does not necessarily apply, despite the conclusion drawn by K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), p. 62.

80 The rhomboid type seems to have been almost unknown in the central Asian steppes. A possible exception might be a rhomboid bronze plaque of the “Ordos-group” in Stockholm, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 153, fig. 57b.

81 See an oval appliqué from Akhtanizovka with Athena that could have belonged to a prometopidion (St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Spizyn [1909], p. 25, no. 30, fig. 43) but should rather be interpreted as the cover of a lenticular fibula (Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 260, n. 2196f, FK 114).

82 See Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 271, nn. 2389, 2391–2392.

83 M. Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient*

*City* (Athens, 1984), p. 109, fig. 66; the reconstruction (p. 115, no. 70) is not entirely correct. Here we can exclude rhomboid gold mounts from Macedonia which were found in graves on the chests of the dead: I. Venedikov, *BIABulg* 27 (1964), p. 89, fig. 20. This is also applicable to the grave in Gorniyani: V. Mikov, *BIABulg* 11 (1937), pp. 209–210, no. 4, fig. 190. H. Donder, *Zaunzeug in Griechenland und Cypern, Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, vol. 16, pt. 3 (Munich, 1980), p. 95, fig. 39, tentatively identified the small plaque as a prometopidion, since there was a horse burial associated with the grave and the snaffle lay at the feet of the dead. The plaque was found on the man’s breast, however, and it should also be noted that numerous gold plaques of this type were discovered in the tombs from Sindos in northern Greece. Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 8076, 8416: *Sindos: Catalogue of an Exhibition* (Thessaloniki, 1985), p. 69, no. 97, fig. 97; p. 76, no. 108, fig. 108, etc.

84 Naples, Museo Nazionale: B. Andreae, *Das Alexander-Mosaik aus Pompeji* (Recklinghausen, 1977), p. 44, pl. 3 (rider at the left edge of the field). Both the prometopidion and the plaque at the crossing point of the nose strap above the muzzle are rhomboid in shape.

85 London, British Museum 1982.10–5.28 (at the crossing of the straps over the muzzle).

86 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 7050: E. Curtius, *Zwei Giebelgruppen aus Tanagra, Abhandlung Berlin* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 29–30, pl. 3.1, 2; A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten* (Berlin, 1926), p. 91, pl. 103 bottom (erroneously identified as a vase ornament). On the figures, see R. Lindner, *Jdl* 97 (1982), pp. 351–352, fig. 31; idem, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst* (Würzburg, 1984), pp. 41–42, no. 29, pl. 32 (third quarter of fourth century). The prometopidia speak against an attribution to the fourth century.

87 On the interpretation of the weapons: Droysen, *Heiligtum*, pp. 95–138 (with reference to a number of Galatian weapons: pp. 127–138); H. Kähler, *Der Große Fries von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1948), pp. 138–139 (with emphasis on Magnesia); P. Jaekel, *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, 7, no. 2 (1965), pp. 94–122, esp. p. 120 (weapons from different wars). For Celts in the battle of Magnesia, see Livy 37.40. It must be noted, however, that Celtic shields (e.g. Droysen, *Heiligtum*, pp. 107, 131, pls. 43, 44.2, 45, 46.1–3) in that period are in no way to be understood exclusively in the sense of Celtic weapons.

88 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: Droysen, *Heiligtum*, pp. 114–115, pls. 47.3, 49.3, 49.22; E. Pernice, *Griechisches Pferdegeschirr*, 56th Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin, 1896), p. 29; Jaekel (note 87), p. 115, fig. 60; Donder (note 83), p. 95, n. 41.

89 The ellipsoid type is usually somewhat smaller than 20 centimeters and only occasionally larger. See a marble horse head, Santa Barbara Museum of Art 78.4.11: M. A. del Chiaro, *The Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Santa Barbara Museum of Art* (Santa Barbara, 1962), p. S–12 with ill. Terracotta head in Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum: E. Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du musée en 1912* (Alexandria, 1913), pl. 16.1. Scythian prometopidia in southern Russia are also usually very large, but different in shape, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1912.1/42–47; Dn

- 1868, 1/31–33; Dn 1868, 1/8–10: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 45, pl. 146 (Solokha); p. 59, pls. 186, 187 (Tsimbalka); A. P. Mantsevich, *Kurgan Solocho* (Leningrad, 1987), pp. 39–42, nos. 13–18, figs. 13–18.
- 90 London, British Museum 123909: Dalton, *Treasure*, pp. 4–5, no. 8, pl. 13. For the illustration and the opportunity to study the horse, I am indebted to J. E. Curtis.
- 91 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2263: G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, vol. 3 (Constantinople, 1914), p. 15, no. 812 with ill.; M. Schede, *Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen zu Konstantinopel I. Griechische und römische Skulpturen des Antikenmuseums* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), p. 5, pl. 7 bottom; E. Dyggve and V. Poulsen, *Lindos*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Berlin and Copenhagen, 1960), p. 552, no. 9, figs. 21–24; U. Hausmann, *AthMitt* 77 (1962), p. 275 with n. 70; W. H. Schuchhardt, *AntP* 17 (1978), p. 89 with n. 37 (160–150 B.C.): Donder (note 83), p. 95 with n. 42. The use of this non-Greek trapping speaks in favor of an Eastern connection for the patron. A Scythian connection is unlikely, because the prometopidion is entirely in Greek-Hellenistic style, a point that cannot be discussed in this study.
- 92 Compare trappings from the Kiev region: H. Schmidt, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 18 (1927), p. 16, fig. 1; M. Mincev, *Pulpudeva* 4 (1983), p. 317, fig. 11.
- 93 From Kavarna: A. Mincev, *Pulpudeva* 4 (1983), pp. 310–312, fig. 1. I owe the information concerning this group to E. Künzl (Mainz).
- 94 Elephant with trappings on an ivory carving from Begram, Kabul Museum 58.1.201: J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA, vol. 11 (Paris, 1954), pp. 63, 72, 196, no. 150 r 4, 150 r 4 bis, figs. 101, 108; B. Rowland, Jr., *Ancient Art from Afghanistan: Treasures of the Kabul Museum. Catalogue of the Exhibition Presented under the Patronage of His Majesty King Mohammed Zaher Shah*, Asia House Gallery, New York, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (New York, 1966), pp. 58, 63, no. 39 with ill.
- 95 This late date for the burial was already inferred by Barnett (1968), pp. 38, 51 (on the basis of the coins).
- 96 On this question, see the Alexander sarcophagus in Istanbul: V. v. Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*, *IstForsch*, vol. 28 (Berlin, 1970), p. 100, pl. 43. On Achaemenid prototypes: G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*, *Teheraner Forschungen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1966), pl. 48; V. Heermann, *AMIran* 21 (1988), pp. 140–141 (with references).
- 97 Heermann (note 96), pp. 139–144, pls. 39, 43.1.
- 98 On this tradition, see Heermann (note 96), pp. 139–140. It is still to be found in the paintings of a grave in Marissa, Palestine, that has been dated according to its inscriptions around 200 B.C.: J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Mareshah)* (London, 1905), p. 23, pl. 6; Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, pl. 58. The horse does not have Achaemenid mane decoration, however.
- 99 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum: A. Schober, *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina*, *IstForsch*, vol. 2 (Baden bei Wien, 1933), p. 40, no. 224, pl. 17. It is not quite certain whether an ellipsoid example is not meant after all.
- 100 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7011: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 164, n. 1039, OR 487, pl. 25.4.
- 101 Amsterdam, Collection R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer 581: R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *BABesch* 54 (1979), p. 105, no. 6, figs. 10–13. The owner very kindly provided me with his own photographs.
- 102 See Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text to pl. 53.1.
- 103 An opinion already expressed by Lunsingh Scheurleer, *BABesch* 54 (1979), p. 105.
- 104 Scullard (note 27), pp. 123–145.
- 105 Livy speaks of “frontalia (prometopidia?) et cristae” (37.40.4). The tradition is also encountered in the Kushan period (see above, note 9).
- 106 See the representations illustrated in Scullard (note 27).
- 107 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–145, esp. p. 142.
- 108 Madrid, National Museum 33.104: *Los Ibaros: Exhibición Europolia 85 Espana* (Brussels, 1985), no. 106 ill. I owe the knowledge of this piece to R. Köster.
- 109 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: M. P. Griaznov and E. A. Golomshtok, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 37, pl. 2B; Rudenko (1958), p. 104, fig. 1b; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 164, no. 51 with ill. (end of fourth century as terminus post quem); Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 231, fig. 113; also Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 159, no. 46 with ill.; Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 259, pl. 139L.
- 110 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: M. P. Griaznov and E. A. Golomshtok, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 45, pl. 4; G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (London, 1928), p. 109, pl. 73; Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style* (note 7), pp. 86–87, pl. 24.1; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 203, no. 86 with ill. (first century B.C.); Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 70, pls. 41, 44, 45; E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” pp. 108, 111, fig. 19a.
- 111 Stockholm, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities: J. Werner, *ESA* 9 (1934), p. 261, fig. 5; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 209, no. 90c; Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 150, fig. 54i. A duplicate from the Baikal region: Werner, p. 261, fig. 7; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 209, no. 90h. Mirrored repetition: *The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum (New York, 1966), p. 56, no. 62 with ill.; E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 144, no. 125, fig. 136. Formerly Collection C. T. Loo: Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style* (note 7), p. 91, pl. 26.2; Werner, p. 263, fig. 6; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 209, no. 90g. London, British Museum O.A. 1916–8–3,1: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 47, no. 192, fig. 74.
- 112 St. Petersburg, Hermitage (first of two pairs) 1727–1/1: Borovka (note 110), p. 103, pl. 51; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Le centre de l'Asie, la Russie, la Chine et le style animal*, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1929), p. 35, pl. 1.1; Rudenko (1958), p. 104, pl. 1.2; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 208, no. 90 with ill.; Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 52, pls. III.5; 5.5; E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 110, fig. 21; for the second pair (1727–1/4): Minns, *Scythians*, p. 277, fig. 199; Borovka (note 110), p. 103, pl. 50; M. P. Griaznov and E. A. Golomshtok, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 45, pl. 6.1; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 210, no. 91 with ill.; Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 51, pl. 4.3. Agraife in St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/131: Minns, *Scythians*, p. 273, fig. 192; Ackerman in Pope, *Survey*, vol. 1, p. 465, pl. 138A, B; Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text and pl. 62.3; Dittrich, *Tierkampff*, p. 159, no. 46 with ill. (fourth century); Rudenko,

*Sammlung*, p. 56, pl. 19.1, 2; K. Jettmar, *Die frühen Steppenvölker* (Baden-Baden, 1964), p. 192, fig. on p. 191.

113 Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text to pl. 62.3.

114 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pls. 40, 41, 44–50, 122, 148, 149, 157–166.

115 Seven Brothers Kurgan 4, St. Petersburg, Hermitage SBr IV–117: M. P. Giaznov and E. A. Golomshtok, *AJA* 37 (1933), p. 40, fig. 21 left; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 40, pl. 118.

116 M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, *VDI* 50, no. 4 (1954), pp. 162–163, nos. 9–12, figs. 9–12; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 30, fig. 39 top right.

117 On the treasure in general, see E. Herzfeld, *Burlington Magazine* 52 (1928), pp. 21–27; Oliver, *Silver*, pp. 72–76, nos. 36–41 (with references); Harper (1987), pp. 342–343, 349. See below, notes 302, 360. Buckle in London, British Museum 124097 (= 1927.11–17.1): Herzfeld, p. 22, pl. C; O. M. Dalton, *BMQ* 2 (1927–28), pp. 88–89, pl. 51b; Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 2, text to pl. 94.2 top; Ackerman in Pope, *Survey*, vol. 1, p. 465, pl. 138B; *Jewellery through 7000 Years*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1976), p. 122, no. 179 with ill.; Harper (1987), p. 349. Buckle in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.2055: Herzfeld, p. 22, n. 1; Ackerman, p. 465, pl. 138A; Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 2, text to pl. 94.2 bottom; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 101, fig. 112 top left; Harper (1987), p. 349. For this type of buckle, see examples from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 4. Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 150–154, 246–247, no. 4.2, pls. 88–97. For the dating of the Tillya-tepe tombs, see notes 689, 690.

118 See above, note 112 (agraffe).

119 The motif is rare. Cf. appliqué from the Maikop complex (Kuban region) in Berlin, Antikensammlung 30221 St–14: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 58, pl. 33.1 (with references). Comparable pieces are in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (ibid., fig. 6) and Philadelphia (A. R. Farkas in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 58, no. 36, fig. 36 center left and right).

120 If not otherwise noted, St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Oguz Kurgan: N. A. Onajko, *Anticnyj import v pridneprov’e i pobuz’e v 4–2 vv do n.e.* (Moscow, 1970), p. 106, no. 5000, pl. 42. Chmyreva Mogila: ibid., p. 106, no. 496k, pl. 42. Great Bliznitsa, burial of the third woman from 1868: L. Stephani, *CR* (1869), p. 7, pl. 1.21, 22. Karagodeuashkh: A. Lappo-Danilevskij and V. Malmberg, *Drevnosti Kurgana Karagodeuasch, Materiali po Archeologii Rossii* 13 (1894), p. 33, pl. 3.4, 5; Minns, *Scythians*, p. 216, fig. 119 (III 5). Taman: L. Stephani, *CR* (1872), pp. 162–163, pl. 3.7, 8; Minns, *Scythians*, p. 268, fig. 185. Kurdzhips Kurgan, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2495/17; 2495/28: L. K. Galanina, *Kurdzipskij Kurgan* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 90–91, nos. 40, 41 with ill. Akhtanizovka: Spizyn (1909), p. 22, no. 14, fig. 4; Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 553 (interpreted as a dove). From South Russia, Berlin, Antikensammlung 11863, 108: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 51, pl. 27.10. Significantly enough, this type can also be documented among the Ordos bronzes. Paris, Musée Guimet: L. Halphen, *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 12 (Cambridge, 1939), p. 101, and *Plates*, vol. 5, pl. 138d (bottom left). The eagle is also known, though only in some exceptional

instances, outside these regions. Grave C from Sedes, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum: N. C. Kotzia, *AEphem* (1937), p. 883, fig. 16 center right. Contacts with the Scythian world are proven not the least by the golden gorytus from Vergina (Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum): Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 183, FK 59.

121 Gold appliqué from Sardis, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4653: Curtis, *Jewelry*, pp. 11–12, no. 2, pl. 1.2. On the motif of movement, see also Achaemenid seals: J. Boardman, *Iran* 8 (1970), pp. 34, 43, pl. 6, no. 129 (Liverpool, City Museum M 8691); pl. 6, nos. 130, 132 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. 5069; M 6598). Also G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (London, 1968), p. 128, no. 493, fig. 493 (Berlin); A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, vol. 3 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1900), p. 124, fig. 87 (art market). A gold ring from the Oxus Treasure in London, British Museum 124006: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 28, no. 105, pl. 16.

122 Gold appliqué from Sardis, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4652: Curtis, *Jewelry*, p. 11, no. 1, pl. 1.1. Gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, London, British Museum 123927: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 14, no. 26, pl. 12. See also Achaemenid seals: J. Boardman, *Iran* 8 (1970), pp. 34, 39, 42–43, pl. 1, no. 5 (St. Petersburg, Hermitage); pl. 5, no. 116 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. de Luynes 198); pl. 5, no. 117 (Geneva 65/20272); pl. 5, no. 118 (London, British Museum WA 115534); pl. 5, no. 120 (Cambridge E.2/509.1954); pl. 5, no. 122 (Munich A 1398); pl. 6, no. 133 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. M 5990); pl. 6, nos. 135, 138 (Boston 13.231; 03.1003).

123 See above, notes 121, 122.

124 Female sphinxes with raised paw are to be found on southern Russian gold appliques. From the Great Bliznitsa, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), pp. 72, 89, pl. 3.10, 11, 30, 31. Also as framed appliqué: Sabatier (note 24), pl. 5.5. This variant appears to derive from an Achaemenid type that is crouching to spring, however, see: J. Boardman, *Iran* 8 (1970), p. 34, pl. 6, no. 137 (Istanbul, from Sardis). Also Furtwängler (note 121), vol. 1, pp. 31, 56, pls. 6.69; 11.18 (art market and St. Petersburg).

125 London, British Museum 123928: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 14, no. 27, pl. 21; E. Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art* (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 22, pl. 21.37. It could be that a crouching sphinx is meant here.

126 Teheran Museum 2811: P. Amiet, *Syria* 49 (1972), pp. 184–185, pl. 3.1a.

127 London, British Museum (Near Eastern Dept.) 123927: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 14, no. 26, pl. 12 (see below, notes 130, 148). For the tongue-shaped frame around the edge of the pictorial field, see 123929 and 123934: ibid., pp. 14–15, nos. 28, 33, pl. 12. For a typologically identical wooden appliqué from the Collection Frolov: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 255, pl. 138A. The objects in this collection are very close to the material from Pazyryk. On the early Hellenistic dating of Pazyryk, see note 36. The Oxus appliques could be already Hellenistic.

128 On this term: Schefold, *ESA* 12 (1938), p. 38. For an example, see a gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, St. Petersburg, Hermitage SBr IV–8: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 40, pl. 121.

129 Compare an Achaemenid seal in private possession: J.

Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Eastern* (London, 1975), p. 97, no. 84, fig. 84.

130 See above, note 127.

131 Bronze head of a Parthian from Shami, Teheran Museum: A Godard, *Athar-E Iran* (= *Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Iran*) 2 (1937), pp. 285–295, esp. p. 290, fig. 119; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 20 (1939), pp. 177–183, pl. 25 right; Ros-tovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 2, pl. 98; Colledge, *Parthians*, pp. 156–157, pls. 47, 51. See below, note 483.

132 Sellwood, *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1983), p. 289, pl. 4.8, 9.

133 Delphi Museum: P. Amandry, *AthMitt* 177 (1962), pp. 40–41, Beil. 7.2, 3 (middle or second half of the sixth century).

134 Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 291: R. Laffineur, *BCH* 104 (1980), pp. 372–373, figs. 44, 45. Very similar to J. Chittenden and S. Seltman, *Greek Art: A Commemorative Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in 1946 at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, London* (London, 1946), p. 43, no. 277, pl. 73 (second row from top, left; with the provenance “Ionia”).

135 Pazyryk, Tomb 2. With a frame that could be seen as a guilloche. St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 99, pl. 67A, B; G. Charrière, *Die Kunst der Skythen* (Cologne, 1974), p. 243, pl. 251; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 160, no. 47 with ill. Compare a wood imitation of such an appliqué from Katanda: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 250, pl. 140B.

136 Rectangular with astragal, from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 50: Reinach, *ABC*, pp. 9, 65, pl. 20.5; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pl. 234. The same type: Sabatier (note 24), pl. 4.3. Round with astragal in Berlin, Antikensammlung 11863, 100 D-F: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 51, pl. 27.12, 13, 16. Also from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Reinach, *ABC*, p. 67, pl. 21.4. There are also a large number of bead and reel framed appliques from Kul Oba in St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 46; 48: Reinach, *ABC*, pp. 65–66, pl. 20.7, 9; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pls. 252, 253. Egg and dart framed appliques from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 51: Reinach, *ABC*, p. 65, pl. 20.5; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pl. 235. Egg and dart framed appliques from Chertomlyk (same mold?) in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863, 1/374: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 55, fig. 114. From the Great Bliznitsa, St. Petersburg, Hermitage BB 44–46: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), pp. 49–54, pl. 2.7–9; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 77, figs. 145–147. The burials all date from the late fourth or the first half of the third century (Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 270–271, 283–284, 288–289, FK 127, 153, 171). With bead and reel frame: Sabatier (note 24), pl. 5.5 (see above, note 124).

137 London, British Museum 123941, 123943, 123950, 123972, 123976, 123994, 123995: Dalton, *Treasure*, pls. 12.40, 42; 14.49; 15.71, 75, 93, 94. A frame in the shape of an Achaemenid tongue ornament comparable with an Ionian kymation. London, British Museum 123926: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 13, pl. 11.25. On the tongue ornament: Pfrommer, *Studien* (index, s.v. “Zungenornament”).

138 Appliqué with Zeus on an eagle from Iran or Afghanistan. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1980.382. In addition: E.

Atil, *2500 Years of Persian Art*, exh. cat., Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C., 1971), no. 42 with ill. (boar in underbrush). An appliqué of this special type is also part of the Oxus Treasure (London, British Museum 124063: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 40, no. 160, pl. 21). Here we can also cite “buckles” of a similar form from Taxila (Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 582, no. 113, pl. 180; p. 581, no. 33, pl. 181). The type also appears on the weapons frieze in Pergamon (Droysen, *Heiligtum*, p. 111, pl. 44.2 [sword band]).

139 From Nippur: Legrain (note 4), p. 29, fig. 227, pl. 43; van Buren (note 4), p. 189, no. 948, pl. 51, fig. 241 (300 B.C.).

140 Brooklyn Museum 59.33.1 and 68.19: K. Parlasca, *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 1976*, 6th Ergänzungsheft *AMIran* (Berlin, 1979), p. 318, figs. 8, 9 (early Hellenistic with parallels). See also Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1992, 7636: *Algemeene Gids, Allard Pierson Museum* (Amsterdam, 1937), p. 53, nos. 506, 507, pl. 27 (with female sphinx and griffin).

141 See above, note 124. From Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Reinach, *ABC*, pp. 9, 68–69, pl. 22.10, 11. From Phanagoreia: *ibid.*, p. 69, pl. 22.18. From Ordzhonikidze: Mozolevskij (note 42), p. 131, no. 179, figs. 113.9, 116 bottom. From the area of Cherkassy: Onajko (note 120), p. 118, pl. 42, no. 816. Melgunov Treasure, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1763, 1/19, 20: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 19, pl. 3. From Kelermes, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1903, 1/27: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 21, pls. 29, 30. From Nymphaion, Kurgan 17, St. Petersburg, Hermitage GK/N–21, 22: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 37, pls. 95, 99. From Dort Oba, Kurgan 2, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Kr 1892, 2/10: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 65, fig. 137. From Chertomlyk in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863, 1/257: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 54, fig. 108. From Kurgan 6 of the Seven Brothers Group in St. Petersburg, Hermitage SBr VI–2: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 41, fig. 67.

142 Bracelets from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 19: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 70, pls. 200, 205; Charrière (note 135), p. 244, pl. 281. Pendant from Deev Kurgan, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1897, 5/2: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 58, fig. 122. Earring from the Three Brothers Kurgan, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures AZS 2273: Piotrowski, Galanina, and Gratsch (note 1), fig. 245.

143 Solokha Kurgan, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1913, 1/24: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 48, pl. 151.

144 Pazyryk, Tomb 5, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pp. 273–274, pl. 173; Charrière (note 135), p. 244, pl. 274; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 192, no. 75 with ill. (third century B.C.). See above, note 38.

145 Nisa: M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugacenkova, *VDI* 50, no. 4 (1954), p. 164, figs. 23, 24 (second century A.D.); Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 30, fig. 40B (bronze; second century B.C.). Seal impressions from Shahr-i Qumis in northern Iran: A. D. H. Bivar, *Iran* 20 (1982), pp. 166, 168, fig. 3BrO. Earrings from the area of Dushanbe: Masson (note 8), p. 71, ill. p. 72; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 194–196, 390, OR 475. Earrings from northern India (Punjab) in Berlin, Antikensammlung 31330: A. Greifenhagen, *Einzelstücke, Schmuckarbeiten in*

Edelmetall, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1975), p. 59, pl. 47.5, 6; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 194–196, 389–90, OR 472, pls. 26.8, 9; 30.75.

146 Cf. even the chain on the bearded sphinx on the Ptolemaic faience inlay (see above, note 140, Brooklyn).

147 London, British Museum 123928 (see above, note 125). On the dating of the treasure, see note 95.

148 See above, note 121. For sphinxes without beards, see a seal in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale M 6560: J. Boardman, *Iran* 8 (1970), p. 34, no. 125, pl. 5 right. Appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, London, British Museum 123927 (see above, note 127).

149 Ghirshman (note 47), p. 413, fig. 243 (beardless servant).

150 The fact that the bearded sphinx was known in the Parthian period as well is indicated indirectly by male sphinxes from Sasanian times: Baer (note 125), p. 22, pl. 21.38; Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 97, figs. 72, 74, 75, 77, 78.

151 On this type, see Diehl, *Hydria*, pp. 34–39 and additions by D. v. Bothmer, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), p. 603.

152 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.12: D. v. Bothmer, *BMMA* 13 (1955), p. 197 with ill.; Diehl, *Hydria*, p. 219, B 141. In addition, see a hydria from Pishchane: F. M. Shtitelman, *Antique Art: Works of World Art in the Museums of Ukraine* (Kiev, 1977), pls. 55, 56; W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 1 (1978), pp. 113–114, pls. 19.4; 20.1.

153 See above, note 152 (Pishchane) or a hydria from Toroni, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 5223: G. Daux, *BCH* 85 (1961), p. 812, figs. 3–5; Diehl, *Hydria*, p. 220, B 149a; *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* (Athens, 1978), p. 82, no. 338, pl. 48.

154 Not all of the pieces have braids that swing so far to the side. Compare the example from Toroni, northern Greece (see above, note 153).

155 Small diadems in the hair above the forehead are often recognizable (see above, note 153, Toroni). Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum 1949.89: D. G. Mitten and S. F. Doeringer, *Master Bronzes from the Classical World*, exh. cat., Fogg Art Museum, City Art Museum of St. Louis, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (1967), pp. 108–109, no. 108 with ill. Worth noting on the siren on our prometopidion is the hair that covers the forehead without a part in the middle. For this motif, see a bronze head from Iran: Atil (note 138), dust jacket illustration.

156 Compare earrings from Dushanbe and India (see above, note 145).

157 Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr College, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum M-28: Mitten and Doeringer (note 155), p. 107, no. 107 with ill.

158 See above, note 152 (Pishchane).

159 The latest Greek example known to me is an already modified piece from the late fourth or early third century B.C.: Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum 1917.825: Diehl, *Hydria*, pp. 37, 220, B 168, pl. 20 (erroneously dated to the last quarter of the fifth century); D. v. Bothmer, *Gnomon* 37 (1965), p. 603 (with references); Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 261, KBk 109.

160 On the hydria in the find, see above, note 152. On a basin with siren attachments: W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 1 (1978), p. 114, pl. 20.2, 3. On a situla see my comments in *JdI* 98 (1983), pp. 253–254, fig. 11. The bucket dates from the second half of the fourth century. For a succinct discussion of the local, mercantile aspects: R. Rolle, *Die Welt der Skythen* (Lucerne and Frankfurt, 1980), pp. 100–101 (erroneously dated to the fifth century B.C.). A hydria in St. Petersburg (Hermitage P 1836.4) that is supposed to date from the fifth century and that is thought by S. Reinach (*ABC*, p. 94, pl. 44.7) to have come from the third-century kurgan of Kul Oba does not, according to E. Diehl (*Hydria*, p. 219, B 139), stem from the famous burial (she draws on information provided by the museum). A hydria is, however, sketched in on the plan of the tomb (Reinach, *ABC*, plan A, o).

161 Basin from Chertomlyk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863,1/167: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 52, pl. 178. Gold appliques from the Great Bliznitsa, St. Petersburg, Hermitage BB 49: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), p. 70, pl. 3.4, 5; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 77, pl. 308. Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures: O. D. Ganina, *Kyivskyj Musej istoricnich kostovnostej* (Kiev, 1974), fig. 59. Also Berlin, Antikensammlung GI 372 (Misc. 7366): Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 39, pl. 16.1. To be dated earlier, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum: A. R. Farkas in Bunker, "Animal Style," p. 58, no. 36, fig. 36 bottom left. To be dated later, from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 70: Reinach, *ABC*, pp. 9, 65–66, pl. 20.8; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 72, pl. 230. In addition, from Kerch: Sabatier (note 24), pl. 5.1. Also in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: A. Manzewitsch, *Ein Grabfund aus Chersonnes*, *Verhandlungen der Akademie für Geschichte der materiellen Kultur*, vol. 2 (Leningrad, 1932), p. 11, pl. 1.4.

162 In addition, see Reinach, *ABC*, p. 94, pl. 44.3, as well as a hydria from Mastjugino, Voronezh Museum: A. P. Mantsevich, *Archeologiceski Sbornik* 15 (Leningrad, 1973), p. 23, fig. 4.2; *Historische Schätze aus der Sowjetunion*, exh. cat., Villa Hügel, Essen (Recklinghausen, 1967), p. 84, no. 187, pl. 37.

163 Compare representations from Tsimbalka, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1868,1/8–10: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 59, pl. 186; and from Ordzhonikidze, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures: Mozolev'skij (note 42), pp. 32, 38, figs. 17, 23. See also Herodotus 4.9.1. For a discussion on the interpretation, see G. A. Laws, *AJA* 65 (1961), pp. 33–35, pl. 22.5.

164 This corresponds to the few finds from the Achaemenid realm. Gems from Sardis in Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4521: Curtis, *Jewelry*, p. 41, no. 107, pls. 10.4; 11.23. See also J. Lerner, *Iran* 13 (1975), p. 168, pl. 2.10.

165 Bronze feet from vessels: Baer (note 125), p. 25, pl. 23.43; J. Lerner, *Iran* 13 (1975), p. 167, n. 18, pl. 2.9 (Nisa). In addition, see Ghirshman, *Iran* 8 (1970), p. 184, pl. 2a (votive offering in a temple of Herakles, Masjid-i Solaiman).

166 Baer (note 125), p. 46, pl. 33.61.

167 Ivory from Begram: *ibid.*, p. 26, pl. 23.44.

168 *Ibid.*, 44, pl. 33.60; J. Lerner, *Iran* 13 (1975), pp. 166–167, pl. 2.8.

169 Compare the repair on the prometopidion (see text corresponding to notes 78–79).

- 170 See below, notes 177–180.
- 171 Numidian grave near Es Soumaa, El Khroub, Algeria, Constantine Museum: E. Künzl in H. G. Horn and C. B. Rüger, eds., *Die Numider*, exh. cat. (Bonn, 1979), pp. 300–304, pls. 121, 122.
- 172 Wooden sarcophagus from Memphis, Cairo, Egyptian Museum 33104–9: C. Watzinger, *Griechische Holz Sarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 33, no. 8, figs. 58, 59; C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes (Cairo, 1905), p. 4, no. 33104, pl. 2.
- 173 For a comparison for this narrow rein, see the bronze reins of a marble horse from the mausoleum in Halicarnassus, London, British Museum 1857.12–20.238: G. B. Waywell, *The Free-Standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum* (London, 1978), p. 86, pl. 5.
- 174 See the medallions from Ordzhonikidze (see below, note 177).
- 175 For a loop through which two straps could pass, see Pernice (note 88), pp. 29–30, fig. p. 27 right.
- 176 Compare the late Classical horse cited in note 173 above or the harness from Panagyurishte, Sofia, Archaeological Museum: B. Filow, *RömMitt* 32 (1917), pp. 43–44, nos. 24–26, figs. 26–30. On the context, see above, note 1. A medallion, possibly from a harness, from Karagodeuashkh dates from the later fourth century, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: B. Segall, *AA* (1965), p. 568, fig. 11 (with references).
- 177 From Ordzhonikidze, Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures: Mozolev'skij (note 42), p. 38, fig. 22.1–3 (1, 2: female heads; 3: Herakles). From Vasjurinskaya Gora: M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Anticnaja dekorativnaja zivopis na juze Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1913–14), pl. 24.5.
- 178 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1127; 06.1128: G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 111, pl. 91 a, b.
- 179 From Tarentum, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, and Princeton, University Art Museum: B. Segall, *AA* (1965), pp. 563–564, figs. 5–10.
- 180 Plaster casts from Memphis/Mit Rahine of medallions that could probably also be interpreted this way, Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1117, 1118, 1121, 1138: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, pp. 305, 310, 312, 316, nos. 23, 33, 38, 45, figs. 19, 42, 53, 54.
- 181 See below, note 183.
- 182 See text corresponding to notes 49–50.
- 183 For the long pendants, see earrings from Ginosa, Taranto, Museo Nazionale 22.407: T. Schojer in M. De Juliis, ed., *Gli ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica* (Milan, 1984), pp. 173–174, no. 91 with ill. For their dating: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 222, 225, n. 1559, FK 28, fig. 41 p.
- 184 See text corresponding to notes 65, 255.
- 185 As examples: from Emesa, Tomb 11, Damascus Museum 7159, 7160, 10436, 10437: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 30 (1953), p. 16, pl. 7.1 (Athena); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.895 (perhaps from Antioch or Anatolia): Oliver, *Silver*, p. 89, no. 52 with ill.; from South Russia, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Reinach, *ABC*, p. 64, pl. 19.2, 3; from Zagazig in Egypt, Dresden, Albertinum Zg.-Vz. 791: G. Treu, *AA* (1890), p. 95, no. 6 with ill.
- 186 For the diadem without a gable-like point above the forehead, see a portrait bust from Pergamon, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum: A. Schober, *Die Kunst von Pergamon* (Innsbruck and Vienna, 1951), p. 136, fig. 123. The shape of the diadem no longer follows late Classical and early Hellenistic pieces. See for example a diadem from Madytos in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: B. Segall, *Zur griechischen Goldschmiedekunst des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1966), p. 22, pl. 40 (second row from top).
- 187 On this problem, see A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford, 1973), index s.v. “frontality.”
- 188 Contrast a cast of a medallion from Begram: J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA, vol. 11 (Paris, 1954), p. 139, no. 111, figs. 313–315, or the gold medallions from Thessaly in Athens, National Museum: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, pp. 97–101, figs. 64–67.
- 189 Head with a cloak and diadem on the fulcrum of a kline in London, British Museum 1908.4–10.2: G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966), p. 57, fig. 306; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 200, KP 119. For a fulcrum our bust would have to have a medallion-like form.
- 190 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: B. Segall, *AA* (1965), p. 572, figs. 17, 18. For the medallions, see above, note 179.
- 191 Cleveland Museum of Art (see above, note 11). For the lenticular gold-sheet appliqués of the ornamental saddle decoration, see below, note 739.
- 192 E. Schmidt, *Der Grosse Altar zu Pergamon* (Leipzig, 1961), pl. 15 (Hecate); pl. 19 (with a hem); pl. 23 (Eos); pl. 27 (Dionysos); pl. 40 (Aphrodite).
- 193 Teheran Museum: Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 22, fig. 28.
- 194 Petra Museum: A. Schmidt-Colinet, *BonnJhb* 180 (1980), p. 190, fig. 1 (still in the Hellenistic tradition).
- 195 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1876, 1/9: M. Rostovtzeff, *Izvestia Imperatorskoj Archeologiceskoj Kommissii* (St. Petersburg), 49 (1913), pp. 134–136, pls. 10.1; 11.1; Ebert, *RV*, vol. 13, p. 68, pl. 29A (s.v. “Südrussland”); W. Blawatsky in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques, 8<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'archéologie classique, Paris 1963* (Paris, 1965), p. 399, pl. 93.3; Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 85, pl. 331. On the dating of Merdzany, see Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 554. The helmet and the appliqués (Ebert, pl. 29B.2, 10) are closely related to examples from Akhtanizovka (Spizyn [1909], figs. 1, 9). On the dating of Akhtanizovka, see above, note 20.
- 196 For the type of the leaf calyx rhyton, see text corresponding to note 517.
- 197 Terracottas: Legrain (note 4), pp. 20–21, no. 110 (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum); nos. 111, 114 (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Babylonian Section 12284, 15452), pls. 20, 21. A terracotta mold and a medallion, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum 15007 A; 16137: van Ingen (note 4), p. 232, nos. 894c, 895, pl. 57.406, 407. Clay bullae in La Haye, Cabinet Royal des Médailles 1378, 1412, 1432, 1441–43, 1481: M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *BABesch* 46 (1971), pp. 25–27, nos. 2–4, figs. 5–8.
- 198 Relief (Charonion): G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), p. 103, fig. 16 (with references). Possibly from the time of Antiochus IV. Palmyrene reliefs in

Damascus Museum, and Paris, Musée du Louvre A.O. 2196: Ghirshman, *Iran*, pp. 80–82, figs. 92, 94.

199 Schmidt (note 192), pls. 55, 56, 58.

200 R. D. Barnett, *Syria* 43 (1966), pp. 269–270, figs. 3–6, pl. 24.1 (eighth or seventh century B.C.). For further examples, see below, note 202.

201 Somewhat shallower than the Getty bowls and with a leaf calyx on the outside is an Achaemenid bowl, London, British Museum 1966.10–14.1: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 252, KBk 42, pls. 50f, 60. Closer to the profiles of the Malibu bowls are examples from Noruzmahale: N. Egami, S. Fukai, and S. Mazuda, *Dalaiman*, vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 9–10, pls. 18.3; 43.5; from Ghalekuti: T. Sono and S. Fukai, *Dalaiman*, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1968), p. 50, pl. 52.1; from Tureng Têpe: J. Deshayes, *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 148, pl. 3a (end of fourth century B.C.).

202 Bronze phiale from Bani Bani Awazah in Iran: L. Vanden Berghe in *Akten des VII. internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 1976*, 6th Ergänzungsband *AMIran* (Berlin, 1979), p. 145, fig. 5.3 (Iron Age III). On an Assyrian bronze bowl, see R. D. Barnett, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 2 (1974), pp. 23, 27, pl. 16. Bowl from Luristan with rosette in the middle: E. L. B. Terrace, *BMusFA* 62 (1964), p. 63, fig. 21 (ninth–seventh century B.C.).

203 Silver bowls in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.19–21: Bothmer (1984), pp. 54–55, nos. 92–94 with ill. For a terracotta bowl in Essen, Museum Folkwang RE 86: H. Froning, *Katalog der griechischen und italischen Vasen* (Essen, 1982), pp. 276–277, no. 121 with ill. Cup in London, British Museum 134740: R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, *BMQ* 37 (1973), p. 126, pl. 54a.

204 Metal vessels are not known from Egypt, but there are a number of faience imitations of metal originals, such as the example in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.367. Also from Sciabbi in Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 16696: E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciabbi*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes (Cairo, 1912), p. 184, fig. 115; Adriani (1967), p. 109, pl. 2A. On the chronology of Sciabbi: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 64, n. 352. The fragment dates not earlier than the late third century. Also a fragment from Hadra, Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 16703: Adriani (1967), p. 109, n. 2, pl. 3.1, 2. Also from the rue d'Aboukir: idem, *Annuaire du Musée Greco Romain* (1935–39), p. 82, fig. 39 top middle. From Egypt, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1976: *CVA Pays-Bas, Musée Scheurleer*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1927), 1 B, c.d, pls. 1.6; 2.1; E. v. Mercklin, *AA* (1940), p. 12, fig. 10. For a Seleucid example of the arrangement of the calyxes in two rows, see a gold-glass bowl from Iran in Teheran, Foroughi Collection: L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 47 (1972), pp. 46–49, figs. 3, 4. The use of a taenia garland points to a Ptolemaic prototype (see Alexandria JE 16703). On the motif in the third century, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 13, 103, 118, 177, nn. 619, 1270.

205 Oliver, *Silver*, p. 81, ill. 44a; B. Fehr, *AA* (1969), p. 369 (see below, note 214).

206 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1969.113: B. Fehr, *AA* (1969), pp. 367–369, figs. 54A, B; Oliver, *Silver*, p. 81, no. 44 with ill. (second century B.C.). Fehr already sug-

gested the possibility of a link between the anchor and the Seleucid symbol. I am indebted to W. Hornbostel for providing me with photographs.

207 Private collection. *Arbeitsbericht: Römisch Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz* (second quarter 1984), p. 36, fig. 19. My thanks are owed also to E. Künzl for providing photographs.

208 London, British Museum 1963.10–12.1 (134303): R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, *BMQ* 37 (1973), pp. 126–127, pl. 55; Oliver, *Silver*, p. 81, no. 44; Harper (1987), p. 350, n. 43, fig. 96. For photographs, I am indebted to J. E. Curtis.

209 From Iran, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1981.82: *The Museum Year 1980/81*, p. 18; Harper (1987), p. 350, n. 42.

210 Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Gallery 35–37/2: P. Ackerman in Pope, *Survey*, vol. 1, pp. 459–460, pl. 136; Oliver, *Silver*, p. 83, no. 45, fig. 45; Harper (1987), p. 349. The Guenol Collection: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 83, no. 46, fig. 46 (with references); Harper (1987), p. 349. For the guilloche in the interior beneath the rim, see text corresponding to note 418.

211 The reading and dating of the inscriptions were kindly provided by Professor R. Degen, University of Munich, who dated them in the first century B.C. The suggested chronology for Aramaic weight inscriptions in the first and second century A.D. (Harper [1987], p. 351) is therefore not valid for the bowls from treasure I (see below, note 537). For the stepped embattlements, see text corresponding to notes 410–414.

212 Although there are no framing snakes, it might be possible that the scale pattern is an allusion to the aegis of Athena.

213 On this motif: C. Picard, *Syria* 14 (1933), pp. 318–321.

214 See above, note 205.

215 G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran, vol. 38 (Paris, 1965), pp. 88, 389, no. 128, pl. 13 (123/2–92/91); H. v. Gall, *Iran* 15 (1980), p. 248. For a coin of the local dynasty, the Kamnaskirids, with an anchor but without dolphin, see: Le Rider, p. 76, no. 86, pl. 8.

216 R. B. Whitehead, *NumChron* 3 (5th series) (1923), p. 334, no. 53, pl. 16.14; Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 328–329; M. T. Allouche-Le Page, *L'art monétaire des royaumes bactriens* (Paris, 1956), p. 104, pl. 7 (Nikias); M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage 3: The Decline of the Indo-Greeks circa 130 to 0 B.C.* (London, 1975), p. 218, type 380 with ill.

217 P. Bruneau, *Les mosaïques*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, vol. 29 (Paris, 1972), pp. 72–73, 156–169, no. 68, figs. 55 bottom, 57 (badly damaged, use of the anchor not totally certain); pp. 209–211, no. 166, fig. 135 (on fig. 136 a trident and a dolphin); pp. 261–263, no. 228, figs. 211, 213 (fig. 214 with trident); pp. 274–275, no. 261, figs. 228, 229.

218 C. Picard, *Syria* 14 (1933), p. 320. Picard interpreted the anchor or the trident and the dolphin as a Syro-Phoenician symbol, and Tarn (*Greeks*, p. 329; see below, note 259) agreed. This view was questioned by P. Bruneau (note 217), pp. 72–73.

219 L. Anson, *Numismata Graeca* 5 (London, 1914), p. 91, no. 613.

220 *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 (Stuttgart, 1950), p. 442, s.v. “Anker” (P. Stumpf; with references). A Christian connotation for the bowls—as suggested in an unpublished study (B. Pichler, *Technologische Untersuchungen*



an 16 spätantiken Silberschalen aus dem Besitz des J. Paul Getty Museums, Malibu, Calif. [1985])—can be entirely excluded on the basis of the Hellenistic examples for the anchor and dolphin medallions and on the background of the Aramaic inscriptions of the first century B.C. on some of the bowls (nos. 2, 13, 14, 15). Finally, the crosslike flowers (see chart, p. 244, types 2, 3, 39) are derived from the ancient Near Eastern repertoire and bear no Christian symbolism.

221 See text corresponding to notes 271–289.

222 For the type of anchor on Seleucid coinage, see A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton* (New York, 1983), p. 2, no. 21, pl. 1 (Antiochus I); p. 120, nos. 1302–1303, pl. 78 (Seleucus I); p. 48, nos. 567–570, pl. 32 (Demetrius II). In contrast to these representations are small votive anchors (?) from Delos: W. Deonna, *Le mobilier Délien*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, vol. 18 (Paris, 1938), p. 199, figs. 236, 237, pl. 3.28–35.

223 Appian, *Syr.* 56; Justin, *Epit.* 15.3–4. B. Fehr, *AA* (1969), p. 369. On the anchor in general, see E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucos*, vol. 2 (London, 1966), pp. 275–276; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1914), p. 610; H. U. Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus*, Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 16 (Baden-Baden, 1962), pp. 17–18; H. R. Baldus, *Chiron* 8 (1978), pp. 198–199. I am indebted to R. Fleischer for references.

224 From Uruk Warka, Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3163; J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 65, no. 27, pl. 88.1; M. Rostovtzeff, *YaleClSt* 3 (1932), p. 47, no. 80, pl. 8.11 (anchor with a horse's head); no. VA 6136 erroneously as pl. 8.10. Rostovtzeff further cites VA 6190. Chicago, Museum of the Oriental Institute A 4066: *ibid.*, p. 41, no. 58, pl. 8.9 (in the catalogue erroneously numbered 8). From Seleucia on the Tigris: R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 43–44, pl. 1.5 (anchor with horse's head). McDowell cites four further examples. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum 35716: *Seleucia-on-the-Tigris*, exh. cat., Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, 1977), pp. 19, 21, no. 7, fig. on p. 18 bottom left (with six further examples).

225 Compare H. Seyrig, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 8 (1946–48), p. 39, nos. 1, 2; p. 40, no. 4; p. 42, no. 9; p. 45, nos. 2, 4, 5; p. 47, no. 12 (on this piece, see Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, text, and pl. 55.2 [framed by small dolphins]); p. 48, nos. 13, 14, pls. 1.1; 3.12. Also M. Dothan, *Ashdod*, vols. 1 and 2 (= *Atiqot*, vols. 9 and 10) (Jerusalem, 1971), p. 68, fig. 30.6, pl. 25.7.

226 E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1938), index, p. 304, s.v. “anchor.” Idem, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1941), index, p. 444, s.v. “anchor.” Houghton (note 222), nos. 1, 2, 51, 300, 422, 432, 435, 567–572, 683–686, 896–897, 917, 919–920, 1189–1191, 1304, 1309 (all inverted); nos. 914–916, 1032–1036 (diagonal), pls. 1, 3, 17, 23, 24, 32, 40, 53, 54, 71, 76, 77. I am indebted to A. Houghton for these references.

227 Houghton (note 222), p. 1, nos. 1, 2, pl. 1.

228 *Ibid.*, p. 48, nos. 567–572, pl. 32.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 94, no. 917, pl. 54.

230 Le Rider (note 215), pl. 72, nos. 16, 17; pl. 73, nos. 2–9.

231 See above note 223. For Apollo on coins, see note 255.

232 On the cult: N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien* (Frankfurt, 1983), pp. 130, 139, 141–142 (with references).

233 Compare, e.g., W. Günter, *Des Orakel von Didyma in hellenistischer Zeit*, 4th Beiheft *IstMitt* (Tübingen, 1971), pp. 23–95.

234 See above, note 225. In a similar form on a figural capital in Rome, Villa Albani: E. v. Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle* (Berlin, 1962), p. 211, no. 512, fig. 973. The small dolphins next to a trident on coins of Antiochus VII are also comparable: G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* (University of Glasgow), vol. 3 (Glasgow, 1905), p. 81, no. 23, pl. 68.16. Compare also face-to-face dolphins on a Delian relief: P. Bruneau and G. Siebert, *BCH* 93 (1969), p. 278, fig. 15 (possibly with an anchor in the middle).

235 See above, note 224.

236 H. v. Gall, *IrAnt* 15 (1980), p. 243.

237 *Ibid.*, 241–250, fig. 1, pl. 1.

238 Mausoleum in Nisa, Turkmenistan: Colledge, *Parthians*, p. 147, fig. 43; H. v. Gall, *IrAnt* 15 (1980), p. 248, fig. 3b. Also represented is the club of Herakles, the ancestor of the nomadic peoples, and a Scythian gorytus. For the coinage of Sinatruces, who came to power with the help of foreign peoples, see D. Sellwood in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 287–288, pls. 3.12; 4.1. It is worth mentioning that the anchor symbol can be traced even among the central Asiatic Ordos bronzes, in a region close to the Great Wall of China. Stylized anchor in Paris, Musée Cernuchi: L. Halphen in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 7 (6th ed., 1981), p. 101, with *Plates*, vol. 5, pl. 138d top left. In this case, the silk road trade was certainly responsible for the spread of the motif.

239 The same is possibly valid for the plate from Elymais (fig. 17A, B), because the two other vessels (see notes 206, 207), said to have been found with this plate, likewise carry Aramaic inscriptions.

240 See the catalogue entries.

241 On the Parthians' pride in their nomad origins, see Altheim-Stiehl, p. 448. I am indebted to K. B. Gödecken-Weber for calling my attention to this possible interpretation of the dolphin. It should be noted in this context that the nomadic Massagetae were known in antiquity as “fish-eating people” (R. Schmidt, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 67 [1975], p. 45).

242 As a wing of a sphinx on a sword sheath from the Melgunov Treasure in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1763,1/19,20: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 19, pl. 3. Golden fish from Vetterfelde in Berlin, Antikensammlung Misc. 7839: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 62, pl. 39.

243 From Solokha, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1912,1/42–44: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 45, pl. 146. These are not ears as Artamonow suggested but fins. On the usage, compare the Alexander mosaic: B. Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (Recklinghausen, 1977), p. 46, pl. 5 (Alexander's

horse has a nomad harness!). Harness from Tsimbalka, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1868,1/8–10; 1868,1/31–33: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 59, pls. 186, 187. Here the small fins are themselves in the shape of dolphins. Golden fish from Volkovtsy in Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures: Ebert, *RV*, vol. 13 (Berlin, 1929), p. 96, pl. 39E (s.v. “Südrussland”).

244 Fish in London, British Museum 123917: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 7, no. 16, pl. 6 (length: 24.2 cm). London, British Museum 123942: *ibid.*, p. 17, no. 41, pl. 12 (dolphins on the rim of the appliqué).

245 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 104–107, 254–255, no. 6.4, pls. 48–50 (goddess with fish); pp. 144–145, 231, no. 2.5, pl. 85 (erotes riding on dolphins); pp. 146–147, 226, no. 1.1, pl. 86 (male god with dolphin); pp. 148–149, 236, no. 3.2, pl. 87 (children mounted on dolphins).

246 See text corresponding to note 693. This question will be discussed in detail in another context.

247 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 247, figs. 51, 121. See also pl. 167D.

248 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, figs. 69, 70, 73, pls. 57–59 (among them also dolphinlike animals). Note also fish representations among Sarmatian finds. Ak-Bulak Kurgan: K. F. Smirnov, *Vooruzene Savromatov*, *Materiali i Issledovaniia po Archeologii SSSR*, vol. 101 (Moscow, 1961), p. 33, fig. 9.7, 8.

249 From Taxila: J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India* (1929/30), Sk 1241/7, pl. 19.16; *idem*, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 627, no. 56, pl. 193.56. Two fish on the edges of each of the links. Earrings, *ibid.*, pp. 621–623, no. 1, pl. 190a. Similar pieces from the same area are in London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 79, pl. IX (middle and top).

250 Earrings from Bactria: *Oxus: 2000 Jahre Kunst* (note 27), pp. 58–59, nos. 29, 31 with ill. (first or second century A.D.).

251 This strange preference for the dolphin was already noted in passing by Masson (note 8), pp. 74, 76.

252 Stucco from Qal’eh-i Yazdigird: E. J. Keall, *Iran* 15 (1977), pp. 7, 9, pl. 6 (second century A.D.); E. J. Keall, M. A. Leveque, and N. Willson, *Iran* 18 (1980), p. 10, fig. 13.2.

253 J. Wolski in F. Altheim and J. Rehork, eds., *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasiien* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 251 with nn. 151, 152.

254 The use of the anchor in Nisa (see above, note 238) is, for example, seen by H. v. Gall in relationship to the forced marriage of the daughter of Demetrius II, who had been taken prisoner, to Phraates II, in 141 (H. v. Gall, *IrAnt* 15 [1980], p. 249 with n. 34). Our anchor and dolphin emblems would in fact be an ideal symbol for an occasion like that. It would be hard to explain, however, why the symbol was used even among the late Indo-Greeks. I would therefore favor a more general understanding of the motif.

255 Parthian archer, perhaps the founder Arsaces I himself: Sellwood (note 238), p. 281, pl. 1.4. Apollo: Newell, *Eastern Mints* (note 226), pl. 13.8–12. For the Seleucid horse, see D. R. Sears, *Greek Coins and Their Values*, vol. 2 (London, 1979), p. 692, no. 7340 with ill. and references (Mithridates I, 171–138 B.C.). For the use of the anchor, see above, note 238.

256 This slow move towards absolute power is best documented in the coin legends. Arsaces I never called himself king (see Sellwood [note 238], pp. 279–280, pl. 1.1). It is with Mithridates I, who reigned after 171 B.C., that we find the title of king for the first time in coin legends and, finally, the full titulature “Basileos Megalou Arskou Philhellenos,” the friend of the Greeks (*ibid.*, pp. 281–282, pl. 1.4, 10).

257 Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 325. See the summary given by Mitchiner (note 216), pp. 182–190, from the numismatic viewpoint.

258 Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 328–329. See above, note 213. I can see no evidence that the “Phoenicians had passed this symbol across Asia.”

259 Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 330–331, assumed that the coin issue indicated that there was a period of peace.

260 It should be noted that the trident, anchor, and dolphin occur in two cases on the same pavement in Delos (see above, note 217). This emphasizes the primarily maritime significance of the Delian motifs. On the popularity of the dolphin in Delian architecture, see Ph. Bruneau and G. Siebert, *BCH* 93 (1969), p. 278. On the trident with the dolphin curled around it, in general, see a gem in Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung: E. Brandt and E. Schmidt, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Munich, 1970), p. 45, no. 801, pl. 92. Also F. Oswald, *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata (Samian Ware)*, Supplement, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1936–37), p. 151, no. 2410, pl. 88. Terracotta statuette: Auctiones AG, Basel, “Auction 14” (December 2, 1983), p. 41, no. 198, ill. p. 40. Capital in Gubbio Museum 224: Mercklin (note 234), pp. 212–213, no. 518, fig. 983. Capital from Pompeii in Naples, Museo Nazionale: *ibid.*, p. 214, no. 522a, b, figs. 993, 994 (rudder?).

261 On the type, see Pfrommer (1982), p. 128, figs. 2, 9; *idem*, *IstMitt* 36 (1986), pp. 86–90, figs. 3.1–3; 4.1–4.

262 Pfrommer (1982), pp. 189–190.

263 *Ibid.*, p. 125, fig. 26.

264 *Ibid.*, p. 125, fig. 27.

265 *Ibid.*, p. 145, n. 108; Andronicos (note 83), p. 164, fig. 132. On examples from the third century B.C.: Pfrommer (1982), pp. 181–182, text to nn. 311–318.

266 For our fig. 22A (amphora, Naples, Museo Nazionale H 3219): K. Schauenburg, *AntK* 5 (1962), p. 59, pl. 19.1. For our fig. 22B (plate, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1613): A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1982), p. 732 (23/39), pl. 270.1. For the phenomenon in general, see my remarks in *IstMitt* 36 (1986), pp. 88–90, fig. 43; *IstMitt* 37 (1987), pp. 172–176, fig. 7.

267 Compare floral scrolls on a rhyton from Karagodeuashkh (see below, note 272) and on the gorytus from Chertomlyk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Pfrommer (1982), p. 153, fig. 29. For an Italianizing spiral scroll system, see the Gnosis mosaic: *ibid.*, p. 130 with n. 26; D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken*, *Archäologische Forschungen*, vol. 10 (Berlin, 1982), pp. 107–108, no. 103, pl. 29 (with references). For eastern companion scrolls, see a bronze plaque from Ai Khanoum: H.-P. Francfort, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum*, vol. 3, pt. 2, *Le sanctuaire du temple à niches indentées, les trouvailles*, MDFAA, vol. 27 (Paris, 1984), pp. 57–58, no. 28

- (0.1242), pls. 20, XX. On a sword sheath from Tillya-tepe, Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 215–219, 247–248, no. 4.8, pls. 160, 161.
- 268 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Gp. 1882.45: Vaulina and Wasowicz (note 43), pp. 87–91, fig. 35, pls. 69b, 70a; Pfrommer (1982), p. 161, *IstMitt* 37 (1987), p. 173, fig. 8.
- 269 See above, note 209.
- 270 See above, note 208.
- 271 See above, note 209.
- 272 On metal ware, rhyton from Karagodeuashkh, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ku 1888.1/78: Artamonow, *Gold-schatz*, p. 84, fig. 157, pl. XXII; Pfrommer (1982), p. 151, fig. 9. Amphora from Chertomlyk (see above, note 58): Minns, *Scythians*, p. 159, fig. 46 bottom. On grave stelai in Athens, National Museum and Epigraphic Museum: H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1968), pp. 26, 32, 36, pls. 11, 18. In architectural decoration: C. Dugas, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée* (Paris, 1924), p. 53, pl. 79a.
- 273 The calyxes cited are more complex. For our purpose the center leaf is the most important. Gold larnax from the “tomb of Philip,” Thessaloníki, Archaeological Museum: Pfrommer (1982), pp. 145–146, n. 109; idem, *IstMitt* 37 (1987), p. 161, fig. 3. Gold tendrils from Stavroupolis, Thessaloníki, Archaeological Museum 7418: *The Search for Alexander*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Art Institute of Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (New York, 1980), p. 159, no. 114, color pl. 11; Pfrommer (1982), pp. 142–144, fig. 7. On the dating of both burials, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 182–183, FK 53, 59.
- 274 See above, note 273.
- 275 This figure is also to be found on a simple calyx from the middle of the third century on the thymiaterion from Tarentum: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 37, KT 52, pl. 32c (drawing). For the earlier second century, see an unpublished tablet on the museum at Pella (see below, notes 308, 313) and an ivory rhyton from Nisa: Masson-Pugacenkova, pp. 81–83, no. 76, pl. 45.3.
- 276 See above, note 272 (Tégée).
- 277 See above, note 273 (larnax, Thessaloníki).
- 278 On the beaded central rib, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 96–97, 104, 107, 123. The motif is also to be found in the second century in Bactria (Ai Khanoum): O. Guillaume, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*, vol. 2, *Les Propylées de la rue principale*, MDAFA, vol. 26, (Paris, 1983), pls. 22F, 23E, 26A–C.
- 279 Compare the temple from Messa on Lesbos: M. Pfrommer, *IstMitt* 36 (1986), pp. 80–81, pl. 24.2, 3, 4.
- 280 In addition to the entwined solution cited in note 276, above, there is also a variant with two scrolls that meet, cf. M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleisten-Ornament* (Strasbourg, 1909), p. 70, pl. 6.34–36 (Leonidaion, Olympia). For another solution, see the Pergamon altar, *ibid.*, p. 90, pl. 9.52. It must be noted, however, that the acanthus leaves as scroll ends are already suggested in Italian red-figure vase painting, although for spiral and not for flower tendrils (pelike, Kassel Museum 561: K. Schauenburg, *JdI* 78 [1963], p. 310, fig. 15).
- 281 See text corresponding to note 269.
- 282 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 28454: K. Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel vom Ende des dritten bis zur Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts vor Chr. Geb.*, Madrider Forschungen, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 251–254, no. 8, fig. 21, pl. 60.1. On the dating, see *ibid.*, p. 53.
- 283 Salzmann (note 267), p. 82, no. 2, pl. 70.1. There is an excellent illustration in P. Bernard, *Spectrum der Wissenschaft* (= *Scientific American*), March 3, 1982, p. 71, fig. 8 (see text corresponding to note 600).
- 284 See above, note 208. Rigid calyxes are known in Pergamon in later Hellenistic times; see C. Börker, *JdI* 88 (1973), pp. 296, 315, fig. 6 (his dating of the frieze cannot be discussed in this context).
- 285 Kylix in Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 2217: L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 48 (1973), pp. 121–122, fig. 3 (her comparison to scrolls on a mosaic in Pergamon cannot be maintained). See Pfrommer (1982), pp. 163–166, on the place of the tendril system, and idem, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), p. 138, fig. 3, on the dating of the kylix.
- 286 For a Palmyrene example: Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), p. 17, fig. 12A. The tabletop from Pella is almost unpublished. A detail is illustrated in S. Drougou, *Egnatia* 1 (1989), pp. 75–76, pl. 390, fig. 3.
- 287 The motif is not known to me on early Hellenistic floral tendrils. For the interspersed tips in Classical times, see for example akroteria on the companion sarcophagi of the Alexander sarcophagus, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum: O. Hamdy Bey and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon* (Paris, 1892), pl. 39.3, 7–11. Marble loutrophoros: Galerie Koller und Spink & Son, Zurich, “The Ernest Brummer Collection: Ancient Art, vol. 2” (October 16–19, 1979), pp. 194–195, no. 608 with ill. Tarentine bracelet in private possession: H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Brooklyn Museum, and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (Mainz, 1965), pp. 166–167, no. 60, fig. 60b. For the Hellenistic period, see a gold cup in St. Petersburg (see below, note 451) and an example in Madrid (see above, note 282). For the Imperial period in the East, see scrolls from Palmyra: R. Amy and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 17 (1936), p. 239, figs. 7, 10, 15.
- 288 On the dating: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 112, KBk 123, 124, pl. 56b.
- 289 See text corresponding to note 547.
- 290 See text corresponding to note 463.
- 291 See above, note 19. For a further example, see a silver kylix from Chmyreva Mogila, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1909.2/43: B. Pharmakowsky, *AA* (1910), p. 220, fig. 19; Onajko (note 120), p. 101, no. 400, pl. 15.
- 292 For an example of the late Classical ivy and grape leaf tendril, see the ornament on the krater from Derveni in Thessaloníki, Archaeological Museum B 1: G. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 802, pls. 16, 17; *The Search for Alexander* (note 273), p. 164–165, no. 127, color plate 20 left. For the intrusion of the ivy in alien tendril systems, see the pendants from Kul Oba, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K-O 5: Artamonow, *Gold-schatz*, p. 70, pls. 214, 215 (tendril bordering the medallion).

On the date of the tomb, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 283–284, FK 153.

293 Chicago, Oriental Institute A 29788: Hoffmann and Davidson (note 287), p. 159, no. 56, fig. 56a–d.

294 Compare, for instance, grave stelai in Athens, National and Epigraphic Museums: Möbius (note 272), pls. 11b, 18a.

295 Grave stelai in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen and Athens, Piraeus Museum: *ibid.*, pp. 37, 39, pls. 23a, 24c. In addition vases in Ruvo, Museo Jatta J. 423; J. 1372: H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, vol. 3/4 Bilderheft DAI Rom (Tübingen, 1966), pp. 49–50, K 71, pl. 115 (leaves next to the head); p. 52, K 75, pl. 133.

296 Sarcophagus from Anapa (see above, note 268), flower bottom left.

297 See text corresponding to note 524.

298 Guillaume (note 278), pl. 26B–E.

299 See text corresponding to notes 574, 637.

300 Compare a capital from Chelidoni on the Peloponnese: G. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963), p. 795, fig. 10. Also a silver cup found close to the Bulgarian–Greek border: T. Kraus, *Megarische Becher im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz* (Mainz, 1951), p. 18, pls. 4.5; 5; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 265, KBk 126.

301 On this motif, see R. Zahn, *JdI* 82 (1967), p. 8, with a false attribution to Egypt. For the classification of the motif, see a late Achaemenid glass cup from Nippur in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Nippur B. 2349: D. Barag, *JGS* 10 (1968), pp. 17–20, figs. 1–3. On the dating and the decorative system: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 115, 222, KaB A 85.

302 Bowl, Toledo Museum of Art 76.15 (unpublished), second or first century B.C. I am indebted to J. Luckner for the permission to publish this photograph and for the opportunity to study the cup. For parallels, see a cup from the Nihavend Treasure in Berlin, Antikensammlung 31425: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 76, no. 41 with ill.; Harper (1987), p. 342, n. 8 (on the treasure, see above, note 117). Another cup in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet MM 1974:37: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 77, no. 42 with ill.; Harper (1987), p. 342, n. 7. Bowl in Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum O.38876: E. Künzl, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 20 (1973), pp. 183–186, pls. 51, 52; Harper (1987), pp. 342–343, n. 10. For the cups, see text corresponding to note 589. On the Toledo example, an Italianizing spiral can be documented in one case. On the type: Pfrommer (1982), pp. 128–129, fig. 28.

303 D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. 1 (Princeton, London, and The Hague, 1947), p. 439, fig. 167S; p. 450, fig. 169.

304 Pfrommer (1982), p. 179, n. 299, fig. 19b. In addition to the monuments cited there, see the gold wreath from Armento in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen: J. Sieveking, *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. 4, nos. 3–4 (Berlin, 1931), pp. 80–83, pl. 43 (filled blossoms, right).

305 Pectoral from Varbitza, Sofia, Archaeological Museum: B. D. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien* (Sofia, 1934), p. 173, no. 2, fig. 187 top center; L. Ognenova, *BCH* 85 (1961), p. 531, pl. 17; Pfrommer (1982), p. 131, n. 31.

306 The type cannot be dated within close limits of time. A decoration of Kushan times: G. Fussman (note 31), p. 31, fig. 9 left. See also the blossoms on a late Macedonian tomb of the first half of the second century in Vergina: G. Touchais, *BCH* 106 (1982), p. 574, fig. 74. Compare the blossoms on bowl no. 16 in this catalogue.

307 Compare, e.g., an Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus from Chiuri in London, British Museum 1887.4–2.1: W. Helbig, *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1891), p. 9, pl. 20.

308 For example on the amphora from Chertomlyk (see above, note 58): Minns, *Scythians*, p. 160, fig. 47 (at the top, next to the palmette). On Gnathian pottery: Masanori Aoyagi, *La Casa della nave Europa a Pompei* (Tokyo, 1977), p. 129, no. 9, fig. 150 (on p. 228). Hellenistic: J. Schrammen, *Der Große Altar, der obere Markt*, AvP, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Berlin, 1906), pl. 11 right (first and third blossom); pl. 12.2 top right. Tabletop, Pella Museum (see above, note 286).

309 Tiflis Museum: *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1960), p. 839, fig. 1044, s.v. "Georgia."

310 On the Qasr il-Firaun, see Schmidt-Colinet (note 194).

311 Compare a silver bowl with four bosses, Tiflis Museum: J. I. Smirnov, *Der Schatz von Achalgori* (Tiflis, 1934), pp. 44–45, no. 61, pl. 8. The form of the blossom was used for a long time, cf., e.g., a Sasanian bowl in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: J. Orbeli and C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1935), p. XLI, pl. 27.

312 For example, see the silver bowl from Prusias, Bithynia, in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.163: H. Luschey in K. A. Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* (Berlin, 1938), p. 47, no. 210, pl. 90; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 77, 181, KBk 2.

313 A similar composition is used on a dagger or sword sheath from Tomb 4 from Tillya-tepe in Afghanistan, Kabul Museum: V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), p. 14, figs. 50–52; *idem*, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 129, pl. 21.17, 18; *idem*, *Bactria*, pp. 220, 221, 248, no. 4.9, pls. 162, 163. The broad, nymphaea-like foliage is given with indented upper contours. Whether the narrow leaves are called "interspersed" or regarded as narrow foliage is a matter of judgment. Narrow leaves are intended on the following monuments. Appliqué from Antigoneia, Albania: D. Budina, *Iliria* 2 (1972), p. 342, pl. 30 middle left. Mosaic-glass fragments: G. D. Weinberg, *JGS* 15 (1973), pp. 48–49, fig. 7 (with references). Terracotta blossom from Amisos, Musée du Louvre CA 2340: S. Besques, *Musée Nationale du Louvre: Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1972), p. 80, no. 478, pl. 105b. Only on this piece is it certain that the narrow leaves are placed over and not between the broad leaves. This is also intended on a tabletop from Pella (see above, note 286).

314 See above, note 310.

315 On calyxes of this type, see below, note 426.

316 See above, note 278.

317 Apulian situla in Ruvo, Museo Jatta J. 1372: Sichtermann (note 295), p. 52, K 75, pl. 133 left, next to the Nike. Lucanian amphora with blossoms with suggestions of veins, Naples, Museo Nazionale B 3250: A. D. Trendall, *The Red-*

figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily, vols. 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1967), p. 170, no. 963, pl. 75.5.

318 For example the amphora from Chertomlyk (see above, note 58; behind the Pegasos). Grave stele from Eleusis: J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 623, fig. 90 (in the anthemion).

319 Rosette appliqués: J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India* (1929/30), Sk 1241/22, pls. 17.37, 38, 52–54; 19.8; idem, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 582, pl. 179.66, 67, 82, 83; p. 604, pls. 178, 410. Earrings with cinquefoil calyx in the center of the rosette: J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey* (as above), Sk 1507/1, pl. 18.2; idem, *Taxila*, vol. 2, pp. 623–624, pl. 190c.2. Another earring in London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 79, pl. IX lower left.

320 Peshawar Museum 1847: Ingholt (note 9), p. 106, fig. 188. Paris, Musée Guimet: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 106, figs. 72, 73.

321 New York, Brooklyn Museum 70.142.13 (L. 48.7.12): E. Herzfeld, *Burlington Magazine* 52 (1928), p. 27, pls. A, B; Oliver, *Silver*, p. 75, no. 40 with ill. (with references); Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 264, KBk 120; Harper (1987), p. 349. See below, notes 360, 577.

322 See above, note 302. Remarkably enough, the choice of blossom for the central rosette with the nymphaea nelumbo leaves corresponds to Ptolemaic silver cups in Munich, Antikensammlungen 4336, 4337: D. Ahrens, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968), pp. 232–233, figs. 5, 6; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 263, KBk 117, 118 (our fig. 43). The Toledo cup shows five leaves, the others eight.

323 S. S. Weinberg, *IEJ* 21 (1971), p. 106, pl. 19b (the context of the settlement dates before 75 B.C.); idem in *Encyclopedia of the Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), p. 68 with ill. s.v. “Anafa”; Oliver, *Silver*, p. 75, fig. 40a.

324 Cività Castellana: Compare the sketches in A. Visconti, *Dissertationi dell'Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (1823), pl. 2. There is also a five-pointed fibula, Damascus Museum 7218 (from Emesa): H. Seyrig, *Syria* 29 (1952), p. 244, pl. 27.7. The ornament on a Seleucid silver phiale said to have come from Ardebil in the Teheran Museum (2069) is also based on a pentagon: *7000 Years of Iranian Art*, exh. cat., National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (1964–65), p. 87, no. 450 with ill. p. 152; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 134, nn. 871, 988. Petra: For the dating shortly before A.D. 27 of the lion-griffin temple, see P. C. Hammond in M. Lindner, ed., *Petra: Neue Ausgrabungen und Entdeckungen* (Munich and Bad Windsheim, 1986), pp. 16–30.

325 Tillya-tepe Tomb 1. Kabul Museum: V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), p. 8, fig. 14; idem, *Bactria*, pp. 97, 226, no. 1.4, pl. 43. A similar but simpler piece in Tomb 2: idem, *Bactria*, p. 235, no. 2.32 with ill.

326 H. Jucker, *AntK* 8 (1965), pp. 46–53, pls. 15; 16.2, 4 (time of the Ara Pacis).

327 P. R. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1972), p. 137, pl. 189, no. 648 (88–43 B.C.).

328 For Greece, a grave relief from Eleusis: J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972), p. 623, fig. 89 (in the middle, above the calyx). For Italy, plate in Ruvo, Museo Jatta J. 1613: Sichtermann (note 295), p. 54, K 79, pl. 138 (next to the bucket); in

Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 464: M. Schmidt, A. D. Trendall, and A. Cambitoglou, *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel*, Veröffentlichungen des Antikenmuseums Basel, vol. 3 (Basel and Mainz, 1976), p. 51, pl. 18e. For Macedonia, see the larnax from Vergina (see above, note 273), our fig. 24. Compare also the scroll on the rhyton from Karagodeuashkh (see above, note 272).

329 Sarcophagus from Anapa (see above, note 268), flower second row from left, second bud from bottom. We must ignore the leaf calyx depicted beneath it on the sarcophagus.

330 On the type of the tiered blossom: Pfrommer (1982), p. 126, fig. 1b. For an early Hellenistic tiered composition with a bud with framing shoots: *ibid.*, p. 133, fig. 4a. The scheme with framing shoots cannot be confined to a certain period. See a high-Hellenistic medallion from Syria (see above, note 52).

331 On blossoms with framing acanthus foliage: Pfrommer (1982), p. 145, fig. 8; p. 180, fig. 20c.

332 See above, note 285.

333 P. Bernard, ed., *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*, vol. 1, MDAFA, vol. 21 (Paris, 1973), pp. 75–83, fig. 8, pl. 80a (left and right).

334 Bent buds are but rarely used in Classical decorations. For straight examples of the late fourth century compare the larnax from the “tomb of Philip,” Vergina, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum: M. Pfrommer, *IstMitt* 37 (1987), p. 161, fig. 3 (our fig. 24). For the third century, the sarcophagus from Anapa (our fig. 23). On bent buds, see below, note 337.

335 This feature is still to be found on a decoration from Taxila: Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 603, no. 400, pl. 178a.

336 See the goblet cited above, note 282 (scroll to the right, third blossom from the calyx).

337 Bernard (note 333), p. 201, no. 28, fig. 44 (no. 048). See my text and note 656. Compare this blossom with one on a plaster cast from Memphis/Mit Rahine in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 2379: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, pp. 67, 303–304, no. 20, fig. 33. The decoration has probably been dated too late by C. Reinsberg (second half of second, beginning of first century).

338 See a medallion from Syria (see above, notes 52, 330), and a gold bowl in St. Petersburg (see below, note 451).

339 The problem of Seleucid influence in Petra will be discussed in another context.

340 Mosaic from Sikyon: M. Robertson, *JHS* 87 (1967), pp. 133–134, pl. 24 (bottom right); Salzmann (note 267), p. 112, no. 118, pls. 20, 21; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 129. See below, note 442.

341 See the late Classical sarcophagus from Zmeinyy (Kerch), St. Petersburg, Hermitage Zm 1: Vaulina and Wasowicz (note 43), pp. 52–58, no. 2, pl. 15 (center left and right). In addition, see Hellenistic textiles from Mongolia. St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 94–95, pls. 64, 65.2.

342 Volterra, Museo Etrusco 89: C. Albizzati, *RömMitt* 30 (1915), p. 151, figs. 12, 13; E. Fiumi, *Volterra: Il museo etrusco e i monumenti antichi* (Pisa, 1975), p. 61, no. 89, fig. 105.

343 For example: Masson-Pugacenkova, p. 119, no. 8, fig. 16, pl. 108. Above all: *ibid.*, pp. 81–82, no. 76, pl. 45.2, 3.

344 See above, note 268. Second row from left, top blossom.

345 See above, note 268. Second row from left, top.

346 From Abusir. Heidelberg, Sammlung der Universität: Watzinger (note 172), pp. 31–32, 75, pl. 3.

347 Temple “Lo Scasato,” Falerii. Rome, Villa Giulia: Pfrommer (1982), p. 129, fig. 28 bottom right.

348 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.19: Bothmer (1984), pp. 54–55, no. 92, ill. p. 54 left.

349 For example, the second blossom from the top. On the phalera, see text corresponding to note 19.

350 From the calyx, second blossom in each case. On the kylix, see note 285.

351 Left row, top blossom. The tendril emerging from the knotted fruit ends in a small blossom (second row, lower right). For the motif see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 114, pl. 57c (6–8).

352 C. Börker, *Jdl* 88 (1973), pp. 296, 315, fig. 6 (lower left and center below).

353 See text corresponding to notes 205, 281–282.

354 See text corresponding to note 292.

355 Florence, Museo Archeologico 84806 (from Bomarzo): L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Florence, 1912), p. 143, pl. 38. The same blossom on the fragments of a silver vase from the area near Lake Van now in Berlin, Antikensammlung: R. Zahn, *Jdl* 82 (1967), p. 24, figs. 4–6. The post-Achaemenid date of its handles in the shape of ibexes will be dealt with in another context (Paris, Musée du Louvre A.O. 2748 and Berlin, Antikenmuseum 8180: A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke*, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1966], p. 54, pls. 98, 99). At first glance, the fan-shaped, serrate blossoms would seem comparable, e.g., the gold cup in St. Petersburg: R. Zahn, *Jdl* 82 (1967), pp. 15–16, fig. 1 (top right, next to the large bud; see below, note 451) or a silver cup in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.40.2: Bothmer (1984), p. 51, no. 87 with ill. (left of the large bud; see below, notes 451, 460). These blossoms are made up of several leaves, however. On this type: Pfrommer (1982), p. 179, fig. 19b.

356 See above, note 40.

357 Deep kylix datable around 300 B.C. in Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum (unpublished). On the date of this type of vessel: M. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 11 (1983), pp. 135–138, figs. 2–5. The motif is also to be found in the treasure in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.19; 1981.11.20: Bothmer (1984), pp. 54–55, nos. 92, 93 with ill.

358 London, British Museum 134304: R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, *BMQ* 37 (1973), p. 127, pl. 56; Harper (1987), p. 350, n. 43. See below, my text and note 473. The garland is also used on a silver bowl from Bori (Georgia) in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: K. V. Trever, *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica classica e orientale*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1952), p. 443, fig. 623; Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 70, fig. 34; P. Calmeyer, *AMIran* 7 (1974), p. 69 with n. 92. An Imperial date is most likely for a gold vase from western Siberia in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Smirnov, *Serebro*, p. 13, no. 24, pl. 9; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, pp. 103–104, no. 23, pl. 31; Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 69, fig. 31. The date is suggested by the flower tendril below the rim of the vase. For the type of the tiny ivy leaves compare decorations at the temple

of Bel in Palmyra: H. Seyrig, R. Amy, and E. Will, *Le temple de Bel à Palmyre* (Paris, 1975), pl. 93 top.

359 The same occurs on the companion piece in Boston (see above, note 209).

360 Bowl, Brooklyn Museum 70.142.13 (L. 48.7.12) (see above, note 321). See below, my text and note 577. Bowl in Berlin, Antikensammlung (see above, note 302).

361 See above, note 302.

362 H. Seyrig, *Syria* 21 (1940), p. 289, pl. 30 top (Jamalpour).

363 I have adopted the term coined by P. J. Callaghan (1980), pp. 33–47; idem (1981), pp. 115–121, but not the conclusion he draws about chronology (see below, note 364). On the origin, see my brief remarks in *Studien*, p. 20, nn. 85, 86.

364 Callaghan (1980), p. 43, fig. 1.8 (the drawing is not reliable); idem (1981), p. 116. Callaghan’s dating follows R. A. Baslaugh, *AJA* 85 (1981), pp. 185–186. An earlier date was considered for instance by U. Westermark, *Das Bildnis des Philetairos* (Uppsala, 1960), pp. 40–41, pl. 16 (with references).

365 See below, notes 368, 370.

366 It is worth noting that the motif on the coins of the cities in Asia Minor that had been declared free cities by the Romans in 190 B.C. does not correspond to the type on the Getty bowls (Westermark [note 364], p. 42, pl. 22.2–5). The variant on the coins is also to be found on gold appliqué, probably from Asia Minor, in Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 140, 246, 253; R. Laffineur, *BCH* 104 (1980), pp. 415–417, figs. 118–120. Attic coins of the second century have no bound trefoil groups (Westermark [note 364], p. 42, pl. 22.1).

367 Examples include a lekane in St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 1858: K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1930), p. 18, pl. 15b (on the lid) (our fig. 35A). Krater in Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum 115: D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, vol. 5 (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 96–99, no. 112, pl. 68. Pyxis datable around 400 B.C. in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.122 (our fig. 35B).

368 Brussels, Musées Royaux E 8034: Adriani (1967), p. 122, pl. 7A; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 229, KaB A 149 (KBk 69), pls. 55, 61 (with references).

369 Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 10479: Breccia (note 204), pp. 80–81, no. 233, pl. 45.65; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 20, n. 86.

370 The definition of the ornament is based on: G. Kopcke, *AthMitt* 79 (1964), pp. 48, 62, no. 231, Beilage 39.5.

371 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.367. On the bowl, see above, note 204. See also a faience fragment formerly from the Collection Goleniscev, Moscow, Pushkin Museum 2514: I. D. Marcenko, *VDI* 80, no. 2 (1962), p. 106, fig. 2; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 117, no. 726. Faience fragment in Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7614: R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *BABesch* 54 (1979), pp. 100–101, no. 2, figs. 2–4; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 255, KBk 64a.

372 Bronze cista from Palestrina in Copenhagen, National Museum 778: *Greece, Italy and the Roman Empire: Guides to the National Museum* (Copenhagen, 1968), ill. on p. 93 (on the lid). For the late Republic, see painted emblem bowls in the Villa dei Misteri (near Pompeii): J. Engemann, *Architekturdarstellung*

gen des frühen Zweiten Stils, vol. 12, *Ergänzungsheft RömMitt* (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 71, pl. 26.1 right.

373 C. Hopkins, *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1972), pp. 132–133, figs. 44–46. The variant illustrated (fig. 44) gives a modified version in which the fruits develop from the framing leaves.

374 Reinach, *ABC*, p. 64, pl. 19.3 (Tomb 2, Kareischa 1834). For the dating, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 278, nn. 2519–2520, FK 140.

375 Compare, e.g., a late Gnathian kantharos in London, British Museum: L. Forti, *Ceramica di Gnathia* (Naples, 1965), pp. 25–26, pl. 2c. Gold-glass fragment in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.160.76: A. Oliver, Jr., *JGS* 11 (1969), pp. 9–16, figs. 1–3; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 45 (1970), p. 141, fig. 18. For the fragment, see below, note 414.

376 Droysen, *Heiligtum*, pp. 99–100, pls. 49.16, 17; 50.11; in each case as a frame on the shield. A painted shield from the Macedonian tomb of Lyson and Kallikles is very similar in the composition of the ornament: Ch. I. Makaronas and S. G. Miller, *Archaeology* 27 (1974), ill. p. 257 top; Callaghan (1980), pp. 43–44, fig. 1.6 (with an inexact drawing; dated 179–168 B.C.); idem, *BICS* 28 (1981), p. 116 (160–150 B.C.); G. T. Griffith in M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulos, eds., *Philip of Macedon* (Athens, 1980), p. 60, fig. 37.

377 L. Laumonier, *La céramique hellénistique à relief*, 1. *Ateliers "ioniens,"* Exploration archéologique de Délos, vol. 31 (Paris, 1977), nos. 395, 1079/1398, 4182, pl. 28; nos. 1733, 1735, 1737–39, 2317, pl. 29; nos. 300/9079, pl. 42; nos. 1423, 2071, pl. 45; nos. 1748, 1749, pl. 46; no. 8966, pl. 80; nos. 1538, 1754, pl. 101; nos. 1525–68D, 9179, 9449, pl. 102. The binding of the trefoil groups is sometimes indicated by small dots: nos. 3204/5, pl. 123. With pentafoilate groups: no. 901, pl. 32; no. 385, pl. 35; no. 942, pl. 36; no. 359, pl. 40; no. 109, pl. 41; nos. 1702, 1703, 1713, 1716, 1765, 1767, 1773, 1777/78, 1788, 2025, 8914, 9254, pl. 46; nos. 1875, 9280, pl. 49; no. 2258, pl. 77; nos. 1730, 8424, 9103, pl. 80; no. 1726, pl. 86; no. 5477, pl. 96; no. 1718, pl. 102; no. 8263, pl. 106; no. 82, pl. 110. The examples are relatively evenly divided between trefoil and pentafoilate ornaments.

378 F. F. Jones in H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1950), p. 225, fig. 131J.

379 F. O. Waagé, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, Antioch on the Orontes, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Princeton, London, and The Hague, 1948), p. 30, fig. 10.40–45. Painted: *ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 8.24. Five-leaf: *ibid.*, pp. 28, 30, figs. 8.26; 10.46(?) (relief).

380 Eastern terra sigillata: A. P. Christensen and C. F. Johansen, *Les Poteries hellénistiques et les terres sigillées orientales*, Hama, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Copenhagen, 1971), p. 163, nos. 55a, 56a, fig. 63.

381 J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria*, Samaria-Sebaste, vol. 3 (London, 1957), p. 279, no. 14, fig. 63. A tightly arranged garland with five-leaf composition: *ibid.*, p. 275, no. 1, fig. 62.

382 Houghton (note 222), p. 27, no. 404, pl. 22 (Antiochus IV 175–164 B.C.); pp. 9–10, 41, 46, 92–93, nos. 143–154, 158, 527, 552, 553, 910, 911, pls. 8, 9, 29, 31, 54 (Demetrius I, 162–150 B.C.); p. 14, 42, nos. 217, 219, 220, 528, 529, pls. 13, 29

(Demetrius II, 146–141 B.C.); pp. 49, 86, nos. 587, 854, pls. 33, 50 (Antiochus VIII, 121/20–114/13 B.C.); *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake and General Collections, vol. 4, pt. 8, Syria-Nabathaea (London, 1971), no. 5804, pl. 127 (Antiochus IX, 114–95 B.C.); nos. 6010–6012, pl. 133 (Aradus, 63–61 B.C.). See also Imperial issues from this area: *ibid.*, no. 5839, pl. 128; nos. 5854, 5860–5862, 5870, 5871, 5874, pl. 129; nos. 5878, 5880, 5890, 5892, pl. 130.

383 Grave relief from Tyre: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 21 (1940), pp. 120–122, pl. 19. On stelai from Sidon: Callaghan (1980), p. 45, fig. 2.3 (Callaghan draws attention to the fact that the area was under Seleucid control in the second century). Worthy of mention are the silver rhyton (catalogue no. 74) and a terracotta rhyton also in the J. Paul Getty Museum (83.AE.319; see below, note 520). The similarity of the garland on a gold-glass cup in Corning, New York, Corning Museum of Glass (71.1.5) points to a Seleucid workshop as well: *JGS* 14 (1972), p. 153, no. 3, ill. p. 152. The same is valid for a sandwich glass bowl from Italy (see below, note 414).

384 See the frieze of the Khazne Firaun, Petra: A. Schmidt-Colinet, *BonnJhb* 180 (1980), p. 217, fig. 32.

385 H. Seyrig, *Syria* 21 (1940), pp. 285–289, fig. 5, pls. 29.2; 30 left.

386 B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, vol. 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), pl. 26 left; D. Krencker, T. v. Lüpke, and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, vol. 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), pls. 47 left, 56 top right.

387 Clasps, Kabul Museum: V. I. Sarianidi, *AJA* 84 (1980), pp. 127–128, pl. 19.11; idem, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), p. 10, figs. 44, 45; Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 138–143, 236, no. 3.1, pls. 81–84. Pyxis: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 199, 241, no. 3.41, pl. 141.

388 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Ebert, *RV*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 546–547, pl. 181b, c (s.v. "Noin Ula"); Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 95, pls. 65.1, 66. The trefoil groups are made up in part of serrated leaves. The binding is indicated by dots.

389 See above, notes 382, 385, 386. In addition, see lead sarcophagi: M. Chéhab, *Syria* 15 (1934), pp. 339–348, ill. p. 339 (1b); pl. 41, no. 1a; pl. 44, no. 12; pl. 45, no. 17; pl. 47, no. 19. See also idem, *Syria* 16 (1935), p. 60, pl. 16 (bottom; Collection Henry bey Pharaon). Mosaic: D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, London, and The Hague, 1947), p. 115, pl. 19b. Lead bowl from Dura Europos (see below, note 780). 390 Callaghan (1980), pp. 37, 45, fig. 1.1–5. See below, note 405.

391 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36460: K. Parlasca, *JdI* 70 (1955), p. 144–145, fig. 7; M. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), p. 15, fig. 9; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 254, KBk 60, pl. 61 (with references).

392 Bronze cup from Meroe: O. Bates and D. Dunham, *Excavations at Gammai*, *Varia Africana*, vol. 4 (= *Harvard African Studies*, vol. 8) (1927), pl. 65 (circlets as signs for the binding). The leaves are tied on a glass inlay, acquired in Cairo: R. W. Smith, *Glass from the Ancient World: The Ray Winfield Smith Collection* (New York, 1957), pp. 75–76, no. 117 with ill.

393 See above, note 366. Compare also fragments of Megarian bowls from Pergamon: J. Schäfer, *Hellenistische Ke-*



ramik aus Pergamon, *Pergamenische Forschungen*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1968), p. 137, Z 123, fig. 19 (regular); *ibid.*, p. 17, Z 109, fig. 19. For a discussion of these fragments; P. J. Callaghan, *BICS* 28 (1981), p. 116.

394 See above, note 376.

395 See text corresponding to note 87.

396 See above, note 376.

397 See above, note 377.

398 Fragments of cups from a private collection in Alexandria (unpublished): negatives L 9594, L 9747, L 9776, L 9963, and L 9974 from the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

399 From Mozdok, St. Petersburg, Hermitage K 35636: Trever, *Pamjatniki*, pp. 158–162, no. 62, pl. 50; M. Rostovtzeff, *AJA* 46 (1942), p. 296 (Ptolemaic or from Ptolemaic Syria); C. Picard, *RA* 25 (1946), pp. 173–182, fig. 1 (Alexandrian); K. Parlasca, *JdI* 70 (1955), p. 146, fig. 9; Adriani (1967), pp. 105–127, pl. 1 (Alexandrian); Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 76, fig. 44 (color); L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 45 (1970), pp. 129, 138–139, fig. 1; *idem*, *BABesch* 47 (1972), p. 48, fig. 5.

400 St. Helens, Lancashire, Pilkington Glass Museum 1974/21: *JGS* 17 (1975), p. 169, no. 2, fig. 2. The companion piece to this cup, probably from the same tomb, is in Columbia, University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology 77.198. I owe this reference to J. M. Burgoyne of the Pilkington Glass Museum. Both museums generously provided me with photographs. In contrast to the excellent cup in St. Petersburg (see above, note 399), the five-leaf motif is here misinterpreted. The buds or shoots emerge from between the side leaves.

401 See above, note 374. This type of fibula was known throughout the Greek world and therefore allows no attribution to a particular artistic province.

402 Bracelets from Macedonia: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.11–12: G. M. A. Richter, *BMMA* 32 (1937), p. 292, figs. 1, 3; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 109–110, 343, TA 131, fig. 16.26, pl. 21.1.

403 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 19–20, KP 45, pl. 39 (with references).

404 Masson-Pugacenkova, pp. 45–46, no. 2, pls. 22, 23. Compare the rhyton, catalogue no. 66.

405 Callaghan (1980), pp. 37, 45, with n. 79, figs. 1.2; 2.5. His late dating of this group to the second century should be considered.

406 See text corresponding to notes 521–522.

407 See text corresponding to note 524.

408 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Reinach, *ABC*, p. 90, pl. 38.3; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 20, n. 86 (with references). For the tomb see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 279–280, n. 2561, FK 143.

409 Tabletop: W. Deonna, *Le mobilier Délien*, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, vol. 18 (Paris, 1938), pp. 60–61, fig. 87, pl. 26, fig. 188.

410 See above, note 211. Cup in London, British Museum 134740: R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, *BMQ* 37 (1973), p. 126, pl. 54a.

411 Chicago, Oriental Institute A 29788: H. Hoffmann and

P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Brooklyn Museum, and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (Mainz, 1965), pp. 159–160, no. 56, fig. 56a–d.

412 See text corresponding to notes 289–290, 526.

413 Achaemenid stepped embattlements are lacking on all vessels from treasures III and IV. This is all the more remarkable as this motif was known in Taxila, Pakistan (Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 629, no. 75, pl. 194c) and Tillya-tepe, Afghanistan (Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 77, 232, no. 2.13, pl. 17). The Greek motif of embattlements is also used on the cup from Mozdok (see above, note 399). On the distribution of this motif, see Pfrommer (1982), p. 180, n. 306.

414 A sandwich glass bowl from the tomb degli ori at Canosa di Puglia can be ascribed with certainty to the Seleucid sphere. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 40.058: E. Lippolis in M. De Juliis, ed., *Gli Ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica* (Milan, 1984), pp. 350, 448, no. 38, ill. p. 351 top; on the trefoil garland see above, my text and note 383. The ornament excludes a date earlier than the late third century B.C. On a diadem from the same tomb group, see below, note 649. On the narrow frieze of embattlements, see a silver bowl, reported to have been found in Italy, in Berlin, Antikensammlung 30981: U. Gehrig, *Berliner Museen* 23 (1973), p. 45, fig. 18 (no. 30977 by mistake). Also see a fragment of a gold-glass bowl in New York, Metropolitan Museum (see above, note 375). Given the stepped embattlement, the fragment in all likelihood stems from a Seleucid workshop.

415 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 48.253: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 219, KaB A 64, pl. 44d–f.

416 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.19: Bothmer (1984), p. 54, no. 92, ill. p. 54 left (see above, note 357).

417 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 28466: Radatz (note 282), p. 251, no. 4, fig. 22.7, pl. 59.3.

418 For the use below the rim, see above, note 210. For the ornament in general, see “Achaemenid cups” from early Hellenistic times, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Chabouillet 2877: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 219, KaB A 63, pl. 41e, f. Berlin, Antikensammlung 29 x: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 231, KaB H 5, pl. 44a, b; formerly Collection Kouchakij: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 234, KaB H 30; Sofia, Archaeological Museum 51 bibl: Venedikov and Gerassimov (note 1), p. 342, pl. 144; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 232, KaB H 15. For the motif in general, see Pfrommer, *Studien* (index s.v. “Flechtband”).

419 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.21: Bothmer (1984), p. 55, no. 94 with ill. Also a hemispherical cup with a guilloche on the exterior from the same treasure (see below, note 587).

420 A list of numerous examples cannot be provided in this context. Compare the vessels in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.10/19–21: Bothmer (1984), pp. 54–57, nos. 92–94, 100 with ill. See also a silver alabastron in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.138: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 70, no. 34 with ill.; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 257, KBk 79 (see below, note 446).

421 See text corresponding to notes 212–260.

- 422 Loutrophoroi, Athens, National Museum: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1906), p. 369, nos. 1736, 1736a with ill. Also an example formerly in the E. Brummer Collection (see above, note 287).
- 423 Laumonier (note 377), p. 78, no. 3, pl. 17; p. 188, no. 871, pl. 41; p. 220, no. 187, pl. 49.
- 424 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 92, 96, pl. 54c.
- 425 Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 121.
- 426 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–116, KBk 117–128, pls. 56, 57a, b, 58a–c.
- 427 On the origin and distribution, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 86–91, pls. 60, 61. Also Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), pp. 14–17, figs. 5a, 6–10.
- 428 See below, note 455.
- 429 Conze (note 422), p. 337, no. 1584, pl. 337. Used on a stone plate from Pella: C. Makaronas, *Deltion* 16 (1960), p. 82, pl. 81.
- 430 On tiered calyces, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 93–105.
- 431 Compare the calyx spread over the lid of the pyxis of the treasure from Tarentum: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 262, KBk 113, pl. 33, or the hanging calyx on the stem of the kantharos “Rothschild”: *ibid.*, p. 260, KBk 101, pl. 31. The basin from Chertomlyk displays a typical tiered calyx only with a central calyx and acanthus, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863, 1/167: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 52, pl. 179; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 257, KBk 77, pl. 53c.
- 432 See text corresponding to note 429.
- 433 See text corresponding to note 316.
- 434 Pergamon, sanctuary of Athena: M. N. Filgis and W. Radt, *Die Stadtgrabung 1. Das Heroon*, AvP, vol. 15, pt. 1 (Berlin, 1986), p. 105, pl. 33.3. For an early Imperial imitation of such a blossom, see *ibid.*, p. 105, pl. 33.2, 6. Gold-glass cup from Syria: P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente* (Paris, 1930), pp. 29–30, pls. 11, 12 (at the top next to the leaf tips); Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 261, KBk 108. From Taxila: Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 604, no. 408, pl. 178j.
- 435 Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 6740, JE 6741, JE 17776, unpublished.
- 436 See text corresponding to notes 294–300.
- 437 See above, note 295.
- 438 See above, note 278. Compare also the plate in Hamburg (our fig. 18).
- 439 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.21: Bothmer (1984), p. 55, no. 94 with ill.
- 440 On Classical Greek rosettes, see above, note 429.
- 441 See above, note 427. This is not surprising if we consider the close contacts between Magna Graecia and the Ptolemaic kingdom: Pfrommer (1982), pp. 175–188; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 12, 23, 29, 122, 160–167.
- 442 Mosaic from Vergina: Salzmann (note 267), pp. 19, 114, no. 130, pls. 39, 40; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 130–131, pl. 59b. Mosaic from Sikyon: Robertson (note 340). Marble slab from Pergamon, Bergama Museum: C. Börker, *JdI* 88 (1973), p. 300, fig. 10; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 137.
- 443 The tiny central rosette is occasionally of course also to be found later: Laumonier (note 377), p. 452, no. 4689, pl. 104.
- 444 See text corresponding to notes 294–300.
- 445 See above, note 368. On the motif, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 106, KBk 69, pl. 61. Compare also a Ptolemaic faience cup in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.793: D. B. Harden, *JGS* 10 (1968), p. 39, figs. 38, 39; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 116, 252, KBk 39, pl. 61.
- 446 There are indeed occasionally very broad center ribs with “beads” or, rather, notches. See an alabastron in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.138 (see above, note 420). A plaster cast from Memphis in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1134: Reinsberg, *Toreutik*, pp. 36, 297–298, no. 10, fig. 18; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 101, 262, KBk 111, pl. 53a. Compare also capitals from Ai Khanoum (see above, note 298).
- 447 Unguentarium in Berlin, Antikensammlung 8616: F. Winter and E. Pernice, *AA* (1899), p. 129, figs. 11–13; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 119, 262, KBk 112, pl. 53b. Vase MacGregor, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3397: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 119, 262, KBk 110, pl. 52. On the dating and the question of a Ptolemaic atelier, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 119.
- 448 See text corresponding to note 511.
- 449 See text corresponding to note 292.
- 450 E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York, 1941), p. 279, pl. 90; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 23, fig. 29; D. Schlumberger in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (1983), p. 1035, pl. 54 (Seleucid origin uncertain). The question of whether it is Parthian or Seleucid depends on the dating.
- 451 Compare a gold torque from Montefortino, Ancona Museum: E. Brizio, *MonAnt* 9 (1899), p. 723, pl. 3.4a, and a wreath from the Pangaion in Macedonia, Berlin, Antikensammlung 30219, 378: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 34, pl. 13.6; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 47–48, 306, HK 68, fig. 2.14. The long leaves were still used on a gold cup, most likely Bactrian, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: C. Picard, *RA* 25 (1946), p. 176, fig. 2; R. Zahn, *JdI* 82 (1967), pp. 15–26, figs. 1, 2; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 138–139, n. 911. See also a cup in New York (see below, note 460).
- 452 On this motif, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 106, 113, 116–120, 123.
- 453 See text corresponding to note 634.
- 454 J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India* (1929/30), Sk 1241/3, pl. 18.7; Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 625, nos. 26–28, pl. 190c.
- 455 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 79, 242, no. 3.51, pl. 19. In contrast to bowl no. 7, the indented foliage follows truly the Ptolemaic nymphaea type (see above, note 428).
- 456 Clay bowl: O. Broneer, *AJA* 39 (1935), p. 71, fig. 14 (probably dates from before 146 B.C.).
- 457 Athens, Agora Museum P 15027: S. I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, The Athenian Agora, vol. 22 (Princeton, 1982), p. 93, no. 410, pls. 69, 97 (possibly imported; 150 B.C. to early first century B.C.).
- 458 See text corresponding to notes 294–300. For an example of the special emphasis on the indentation of the acanthus between the round lobes, see bowl no. 5.
- 459 Vase in Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3397 (see above, note 447). See text corresponding to notes 573, 624. For the motif in general, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 115, 119f.
- 460 Gold cup in St. Petersburg, Hermitage (see above, note

- 451), formerly colored leaves between the acanthus leaves. Also a cup from Olbia in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.50.2: Bothmer (1984), p. 51, no. 87 with ill.; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 138, n. 910.
- 461 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.20: Bothmer (1984), p. 55, no. 93 with ill.
- 462 Compare cups in Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum B 11, and Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38096: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 99–100, pl. 55, M 1 and A 37 (on pl. 55, A 37 should be changed to A 28 and M 1 to M 4).
- 463 See text corresponding to notes 551, 563–564, 606.
- 464 In view of the simplicity of the bowl, this can hardly be a signature, as proposed for other vessels: E. Künzl, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31 (1984), p. 367, n. 3.
- 465 See the material cited by Strong (note 20), pp. 108–109; Raddatz (note 282), pls. 4.3; 31.1; 58.2; 80.3 (flared type); pls. 3.1, 2; 4.1; 5.2; 22.1; 25.1; 46.3, 6, 7; 58.1; 65.4; 79.1 (narrow type).
- 466 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 591, no. 280, pl. 175.
- 467 See above, note 465 (Raddatz).
- 468 From Akhtanizovka, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Spizyn (1909), p. 22, no. 17, fig. 35; Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 554; Strong (note 20), p. 109.
- 469 From Yakimovo, Mihailowgrad Museum 37, 38, 39, 46: *Gold der Thraker* (note 1), pp. 197–205, nos. 412–415 with ill.
- 470 Glass cup from Pylos, Pylos Museum 177: G. A. Papaathanasopoulou, *Deltion* 21 (1966), pp. 189–197, pl. Ca.
- 471 Faience cup in Oxford (see above, note 445). In addition a cup from Tarsus: Jones (note 378), p. 225, no. 183; p. 404, fig. 132 (pp. 30–31, stratum of the late third century B.C.). On the Tarsus group: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 108, 118, KBk 80–89.
- 472 See above, note 468.
- 473 See above, note 358.
- 474 See text between notes 479 and 480.
- 475 I am much indebted to the owner for permission to publish this piece. It was brought to my attention by E. Künzl.
- 476 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, p. 195; vol. 2, pp. 605, no. 420, pl. 172u. On the question of dating: *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 197–199.
- 477 A. M. Leskov, *Antike Welt* 4, pt. 1 (1973), p. 46, fig. 11; Pfrommer (1982), p. 155, n. 167.
- 478 N. C. Witsen, *Nord- und Ost-Tartarye*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1785), was not available to me. Illustrated in Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 13, fig. 3 bottom. The Imperial coins illustrated with the vessel make a late dating at least possible. The turned handle with the finely beaded wire is, however, more like Classical and Hellenistic gold work. Bracelet from the Great Bliznitsa in St. Petersburg, Hermitage BB 77, 78: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 118–119, 342, TA 125, pl. 21.2 (with parallels). A dating of the gold bowl to Hellenistic times seems perhaps more probable.
- 479 For examples, see B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, The Athenian Agora, vol. 12 (Princeton, 1970), pp. 288–291, pls. 30–31. Cf. also an Egyptian example with a movable handle like that on the Siberian gold bowl (see above, note 478): F. Petrie, *Stone and Metal Vases* (London, 1937), p. 27, no. 14, pl. 39 (eighteenth dynasty).
- 480 H.-P. Bühler, *Antike Gefäße aus Edelsteinen* (Mainz, 1973), pp. 39–40, nos. 3–10, pls. 1–3; K. Parlasca, *Artibus Asiae* 37 (1975), pp. 280–286 (Ptolemaic agate rhyton from China).
- 481 See below, note 675.
- 482 See below, note 676.
- 483 See above, note 131.
- 484 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4530: Curtis, *Jewelry*, p. 27, no. 54, pl. 5.5. In addition, material from Tomb 5 from Ghalekuti (Dalaiman area, Iran, south of the Caspian Sea): T. Sono and S. Fukai, *Dalaiman*, vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1968), pl. 85.18, 19. The tomb also contained a “rod-formed Kohl tube of the mid first millennium B.C.” (*ibid.*, p. 55, pls. 51.18; 85.2). On the dating, see D. P. Barag, *JGS* 17 (1975), pp. 23–36, esp. 35, no. 1, figs. 26, 27. The reference to this type and to the article by D. P. Barag I owe to D. Grose. On this tomb, see also below, note 495.
- 485 N. P. Toll, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 9, pt. 2 (New Haven, 1946), p. 61, no. 26, pl. 48 (Tomb 28); p. 81, no. 15, pl. 54 (Tomb 40–XVI).
- 486 For the type, see P. Amandry, *AntK* 1 (1958), pp. 16–22, pls. 8.5, 6; 9–14. For the typological development and distribution of these bracelets, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 95–125. For the bracelet in Malibu: *ibid.*, 100, 297, 339, TA 92, fig. 16.20.
- 487 See Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 99–103.
- 488 See above, note 484.
- 489 See text corresponding to note 484.
- 490 See Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 81–94.
- 491 Damascus Museum 7157: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 30 (1953), pp. 19–20, fig. 2; E. Porada, *IrAnt* 7 (1967), p. 110.
- 492 In private possession: Porada (note 491), pp. 99–120, pls. 22, 23, 24.1–3; A. R. Farkas in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 57, no. 33, fig. 33 bottom (late first century B.C.–second century A.D.).
- 493 See text corresponding to notes 60–61.
- 494 Zurich, Museum Rietberg; London, British Museum; Paris, Musée Guimet: Hallade, *Indien*, pp. 96–97, figs. 66–68.
- 495 Sono and Fukai (note 484), p. 55, pls. 51.17, 83.3 (Ghalekuti, Tomb 5). On the burial, see above, note 484. A good parallel is to be found in London, British Museum 135125 (Near Eastern Department): R. D. Barnett and J. E. Curtis, *BMQ* 37 (1973), p. 136, n. 71, pl. 64c (Uartian). Whether the tomb and the finds are more likely early Parthian remains open to discussion.
- 496 From a late Achaemenid tomb at Susa: J. de Morgan, *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8 (1905), p. 56, figs. 91, 92, pl. 4.10, 11. In addition see from Ghalekuti, Tomb A-V: N. Egami, S. Fukai, and S. Masuda, *Dalaiman*, vol. 1 (Tokyo, 1965), p. 20, pl. 57, no. 81 top, color pl. 2 (pre-Achaemenid).
- 497 A necklace from S. Agata dei Goti (Saticula) in Naples, Museo Nazionale 24887: Becatti (note 26), p. 202, no. 434, pl. 118.
- 498 Ghalekuti, Tomb A-V: Egami (note 496), pl. 57.93. According to *ibid.*, p. 25, the tomb could be even be pre-Achaemenid.

- 499 Faience beads from Ghalekuti, Grave C-I: Egami (note 496), pls. 34.6; 77.106 (probably also no. 105). Compare also pl. 77.108 with catalogue no. 53, and *ibid.*, pl. 77.109 with catalogue no. 54.
- 500 Ghalekuti, Tomb 5: Sono (note 495), pls. 51.7; 85.30.
- 501 For the elongated stone beads with the thicker middle parts, see the following examples. From Mari: A. Parrot, *Syria* 42 (1965), p. 219, pl. 15.4. From Byblos: O. Tufnell and W. A. Ward, *Syria* 43 (1966), pp. 189–190, pl. 15 (circa 2200 B.C.). Achaemenid, from Susa: Morgan (note 496), p. 53, fig. 81, pl. 6.2, 3. Hellenistic and later: R. Laffineur, *BCH* 104 (1980), pp. 392–393, no. 75, fig. 80 (Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum). From Dura Europos: Toll (note 485), pp. 53–54, pl. 45 (Tomb 24–II). Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (note 224), p. 13, nos. 5–7, ill. p. 10 (141 B.C.–A.D. 215). For beads with a middle ridge like no. 64, see Ghalekuti: Egami (note 496), pls. 33.1, 78.139–144 (supposed to be pre-Achaemenid).
- 502 Paris, Musée Guimet: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 98, fig. 68.
- 503 Even at present, new vessels are constantly appearing on the art market.
- 504 The damage to the crushed bowl (no. 17) may have been caused by a falling stone. The damage seems not to be modern.
- 505 Nos. 4, 22. See text corresponding to note 474.
- 506 See R. Rolfe, *Totenkult der Skythen*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen*, vol. 18, pt. 1.1 (Berlin and New York, 1979).
- 507 See Rudenko, *Tombs*.
- 508 On the nomad origins of the Parthians: Colledge, *Parthians*, pp. 24–27; J. Wolski in F. Altheim and J. Rehork, eds., *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasiien* (Darmstadt, 1969), pp. 243–247; Altheim-Stiehl, pp. 448–452. Justinus 41.3 speaks of the bodies of the deceased left out in the open for the dogs and the birds. The bones were then gathered for the burial: Altheim-Stiehl, p. 457, n. 5. Actual burials are known for the Parthian kings (Altheim-Stiehl, p. 457, with a reference to Isidorus Charax *mans* 12).
- 509 On the cities: Altheim-Stiehl, pp. 451–452, 454.
- 510 *Ibid.*, p. 448.
- 511 Gold rhyton with winged lion, said to have been found in Hamadan. Teheran Museum: L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959), p. 109, pl. 136d; Ghirshman (note 47), pp. 252, 415, fig. 290. A second winged gold rhyton reportedly of the same provenance in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: C. K. Wilkinson, *BMMA* 13 (1955), p. 221, fig. on p. 222; Ghirshman, pp. 252, 416, fig. 306. Protome of a faience rhyton in Paris, Musée du Louvre N. 1000: H. Hoffmann, *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 19, pt. 3 (1958), p. 11, figs. 3, 4. A second protome of faience in New York, Brooklyn Museum 48.29: Hoffmann, pp. 10–12, figs. 1, 2.
- 512 For an example with a very tall horn, compare the griffin rhyton from Erzinjan in London, British Museum 124081: Dalton, *Treasure*, pp. 42–43, no. 178, pl. 22. The type with a lower horn is represented in the treasure from Tuch el-Karamus in Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38093: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 150, 156, 158, 266, KTK 1, pl. 1.
- 513 For the fifth century compare the goat rhyton from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group in St. Petersburg, Hermitage SBr IV–3: Artamonow, *Goldschatz*, p. 39, pl. 117. As a Greek derivative of this type, see a horse rhyton from Bashova Mogila, Bulgaria, Plovdiv Museum 1517: I. Venedikov and T. Gerassimov, *Thrakische Kunst* (Vienna, 1973), p. 344, pl. 162.
- 514 Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 25586: A. Adriani, *BSArchAlex* 33 (n. s. 10, no. 2) (1939), pp. 355–357, fig. 3.
- 515 Silver kantharos: S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1909), p. 73; Masson-Pugacenkova, p. 39, fig. 7.
- 516 For one of the horse rhyta and the example with a female sphinxlike creature, see M. Pfrommer in D. v. Bothmer, ed., *Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* (New York, 1990), pp. 190–194, nos. 137, 139 with ill. (attributed to the Hellenized Near East). The second horse rhyton and the stag rhyton were in the New York art market in 1990. A zebu rhyton was recently acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art. The vessels will be extensively discussed in another context. For ivory rhyta with protomes picturing half-men, half-zebu bulls, see examples from Parthian Nisa: Masson-Pugacenkova, pls. 24.1, 40.1, 75, 76, 78.2, 102.1, 115, 118.4, nos. 2, 12/19, 13, 20, 78, 87.
- 517 St. Petersburg, Hermitage KU 1876,1/9 (see above, notes 24, 195). For the tomb group, see above, note 195.
- 518 Masson-Pugacenkova, *passim*; for the chronology, see pp. 140, 149 (second century B.C.).
- 519 Masson-Pugacenkova, pp. 48–84, nos. 5, 8–10, 14, 15, 16/40, 21–24, 27/34, 28, 33, 37, 38, 43, 47, 57, 65, 71, 77, pls. 5, 6.2, 7, 8, 12.1, 16, 19, 29, 34, 40.2, 42.1, 46, 53.2, 54, 60, 63.2, 64, 69, 70, 74, 85.2, 92.2, 105.2, 107, 109, 120.
- 520 Terracotta. Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum JE 9815: Adriani (note 514), p. 355, fig. 2. One should add an early Imperial terracotta rhyton in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.319: *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), p. 254, fig. 124 (see also note 383 above). Only the horn with figural scenes is preserved. According to its trefoil garland, however, we should attribute it to the Near East, perhaps Syria.
- 521 Masson-Pugacenkova, pp. 45–46, 79, nos. 2, 63, pls. 3.1, 23.1, 80, 81.
- 522 See above, notes 402, 406.
- 523 See text corresponding to note 374.
- 524 Silver with mercury gilding (height: 27.5 cm), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979.447: P. O. Harper, *BMMA* 41, pt. 4 (1984), p. 16, fig. 13 (Parthian, circa first century B.C.). Harper (1987), pp. 350–351, fig. 98.
- 525 See above, note 442.
- 526 Only the flower types 11, 18, 53 (see chart, p. 244) offer similarities but reveal a different workshop tradition. For the embattlements, see text corresponding to notes 289–300, 412.
- 527 For rhyta with a sharp, unprofiled lip, see above, note 513 (St. Petersburg) and note 511 (Teheran, Metropolitan Museum). For an example from a Greek workshop, see above, note 513 (Plovdiv). The Erzinjan rhyton, an example in more or less Achaemenid style (see above, note 512), has a Greek lotus and palmette decoration and thus shows clearly Greek influence.
- 528 On this motif, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 37–38, 49, 219, nn. 241, 346, 1493.

- 529 See above, note 513.
- 530 Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 107–108, 175–177.
- 531 Ibid., p. 177.
- 532 Compare H. J. Kantor, *JNES* 6 (1947), pp. 255–267, figs. 3–7, with additions and corrections by D. M. A. Bate, *JNES* 9 (1950), pp. 53–54, pl. 2; E. D. van Buren, *JNES* 9 (1950), pp. 54–55; H. J. Kantor, *JNES* 9 (1950), pp. 55–56.
- 533 Compare for example the griffin rhyton, see above, note 512.
- 534 Harnessed panther, Washington, Bliss Collection: R. Heidenreich, *RömMitt* 52 (1937), pp. 266–274, pl. 59 (the author suggests that the bridle was only used to support the spout).
- 535 See above, note 524.
- 536 Slender, high terracotta animal rhyton with bent (“Achaemenid”) legs (see above, note 513) from Kafizin on Cyprus. The protome is broken and lost; Nikosia, Cyprus Museum K 523: T. B. Mitford, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin: The Inscribed Pottery, Kadmos*, suppl. 2 (Berlin and New York, 1980), p. 248, K 523 with ill. For the dating of the Kafizin vases, see Mitford, pp. 251–252, 272–273; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 184, FK 64 (second half of third century B.C.).
- 537 Harper (1987), p. 350, n. 44, fig. 97. The weight is 570.5 grams. The weight inscription gives 147 drachmas and a half drachma, thus leading to a drachma of 3.7 grams, rather close to the Parthian standard (see text corresponding to notes 211, 662). For the dating of the inscriptions in the first or even second century A.D., see Harper (note 211).
- 538 Silver rhyton, Norbert Schimmel Collection: O. W. Muscarella, *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz, 1974), p. 123 with ill. (Hittite; with references); *Von Troja bis Amarna: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, exh. cat., New York (Mainz, 1978), no. 133 with ill.
- 539 Silver rhyton, probably found close to Erzurum, Turkey, Paris, Musée du Louvre A.O. 3093; P. Amandry, *AntK* 2 (1959), p. 52, pl. 29.3, 4 (end of fifth, beginning of fourth century). Silver rhyton from the northern shore of Turkey with bent forelegs like the latter, private collection, unpublished. The rhyton belongs to a treasure of the later fifth century B.C. For a head rhyton in the George Ortiz Collection with the head of a stag from this very treasure, see *The Search for Alexander* (note 273), pp. 128–129, no. 53, color pl. 6.
- 540 For an example, see above, note 539. For the type in general, compare my remarks in *Jdl* 98 (1983), pp. 265–285, figs. 31, 33.
- 541 See text corresponding to notes 516, 517.
- 542 See text corresponding to note 278.
- 543 H. Seyrig, R. Amy, and E. Will, *Le Temple de Bel à Palmyre* (Paris, 1975), p. 49, pl. 66; for the dedication, see p. 149.
- 544 Compare for example decorative marble sculpture: C. Börker, *Jdl* 88 (1973), pp. 283–290, figs. 1–3. Tendrils on a cameo amphora from Pompeii, Naples 13521: D. B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars*, exh. cat., Corning (N.Y.), London, Cologne (Milan, 1987), pp. 75–78, no. 33, ill. pp. 77, 78.
- 545 Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen: W.-R. Megow, *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus*, *Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine*, vol. 11 (Berlin, 1987), pp. 298–299, D 29, pl. 12.2 (around A.D. 20). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 19 (IX a 63): Megow, pp. 200–201, A 81, pls. 31, 32.1 (around A.D. 49).
- 546 For the type of the flower tendril, see note 261.
- 547 See text corresponding to note 289.
- 548 See text corresponding to note 266.
- 549 See text corresponding to notes 264–265.
- 550 See text corresponding to notes 318–327.
- 551 See text corresponding to notes 463, 563–564, 606.
- 552 For ivy calyxes in general, see text corresponding to notes 459–462. These calyxes are, however, not combined with buds.
- 553 See text corresponding to notes 301–308.
- 554 Temple of Bachus: D. Krencker, T. v. Lüpke, and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1923), p. 19, pls. 51, 52.
- 555 Palmyra, temple of Bel: Seyrig, Amy, and Will (note 543), p. 36, pl. 45 (above left).
- 556 The information concerning the date and meaning of the inscription was kindly provided by R. Degen (Munich).
- 557 See text corresponding to notes 363–409. The arrangement of the leaf garland below the lip follows a much older tradition. Compare a southern Russian rhyton: *Kratkie Soobsheniia Instituta archeologii* (Moscow and Leningrad) 107 (1966), p. 83, fig. 30.
- 558 See text corresponding to notes 408, 523.
- 559 See text corresponding to note 528.
- 560 A bowl with a large rosette like the one on no. 68 was in the London art market.
- 561 See text corresponding to note 451.
- 562 Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 95.
- 563 See text corresponding to note 463.
- 564 See text corresponding to note 606.
- 565 All the bowls are fluted on the exterior. Bronze bowl, purchased with the Maikop complex, Berlin, Pergamonmuseum 30584: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 56, figs. 52, 53. Bronze bowl from Iran, formerly in the art market of Zurich: B. Segall, *Tradition und Neuschöpfung in der frühalexandrinischen Kleinkunst*, 119th and 120th Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm (Berlin, 1966), p. 9, fig. 2. Three silver bowls from Pithom, Egypt in New York, Brooklyn Museum 54.5035–37: *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951–1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 43–44, no. 50, pl. 72. Silver bowl from Sredna Mogila, Bulgaria, in Sofia, Archaeological Museum 6755: *Gold der Thraker* (note 1), p. 111, no. 204, ill. 204. Bronze bowl in private possession: W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike: Schätze aus Norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1977), p. 90, no. 61, with ill. Bronze bowl in Princeton, University Art Museum 54–124: G. D. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 30 (1961), p. 381, pl. 91b. Bronze bowl from Deve Hüyük in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.676: P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük*, BAR International Series, vol. 87 (Oxford, 1980), p. 34, fig. 6, no. 86 (same fluted type but without rosette). The type was used without rosette in Late Hellenistic times; silver cup from Syria (?) in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1976.76 (ex Bomford Collection): P. R. S. Moorey, *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), p. 358, no. 1, fig. 8; Harper (1987), p. 342, n. 6. Silver cup said to be from Uşak in Asia Minor: Sotheby’s, London (June 12, 1967), p. 76, no. 167, with ill. Another bowl reportedly from Susa in

Paris, Musée du Louvre Sb 2757: Harper (1987), p. 342, fig. 92 (with references). And a fourth example from Asia Minor is on loan in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art L 1984.41.4 (possibly the Uşak bowl): Harper (1987), p. 342, n. 4. A Late Hellenistic copy of the Achaemenid prototypes in terracotta was found on Delos: Ph. Bruneau and C. Vatin et al., *L'ilot de la maison des commédiens*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, vol. 27 (Paris, 1970), p. 240, pl. 39 D 1 (62–C–551).

566 See text corresponding to notes 325–327.

567 See text corresponding to notes 374–383.

568 See text corresponding to notes 452–453, 634.

569 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 257, 259, 261–264, KBk 77, 91, 102, 106, 111, 114, 124–125, pls. 51a, b, 53a, c, 54d, 56, 57a, b, 58c, 59a. For an exception, see p. 261, KBk 103, pl. 51c.

570 Bowls from Civitā Castellana in Naples, Museo Nazionale 25284/85: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 264, KBk 123–125, pls. 56, 57a, b. Bowl in Toledo, Museum of Art 75.11: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 265, KBk 128, pl. 58a.

571 Compare necklaces from Tillya-tepe (Kabul Museum): Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 116–119, 252, no. 5.3, pls. 64, 65 (Tomb 5); from Taxila: Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 627, nos. 56–58, pl. 193. For the typology: M. Pfrommer, *IstMitt* 36 (1986), pp. 74–76, fig. 3.3, pl. 22.3.

572 Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 116.

573 See the vase in note 459 above and the quoted bowls in note 570 above.

574 See text corresponding to notes 299, 637.

575 See above, note 570.

576 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–116.

577 See above, note 360.

578 See the bowls cited in note 360.

579 See text corresponding to notes 529–537.

580 Compare below, notes 586, 587. For further examples, see an early Imperial ladle that refers more or less to our composition. Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 2034: F. Baratte, *Le trésor d'orfèverie romaine de Boscoreale* (Paris, 1986), p. 30 with ill. (third from above); A. Héron de Villefosse, *MonPiot* 5 (1899), pp. 108–109, no. 51, pl. 26.

581 As examples for many, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 3 (1934), pp. 381–383, D 38, fig. 69; Laumonier (note 377), no. 9309, pl. 12; no. 4054, pl. 39; nos. 4055, 4056, 4058, 4061, 4064, pl. 44; no. 9312, pl. 51; nos. 4069, 4078, 4083, 8996, pl. 112; Rotroff (note 454), p. 92, nos. 403, 404, pls. 69, 89 (net pattern bowls).

582 For Hellenistic examples from Magna Graecia, see figs. 16, 39.

583 London, British Museum 1966.10–14.1 (134879): Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 88, 98, 252, KBk 42, pl. 50f.

584 See text corresponding to notes 631–632.

585 Gordion no. 3165 G 172: A. v. Saldern, *JGS* 1 (1959), p. 45, no. 1, fig. 31 (second half of third century).

586 Odessa Museum 52916: *Odesskij Archeologiceskij Musej an USSR* (Kiev, 1983), p. 176, no. 131, pl. 131.

587 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1981.11.16: Bothmer (1984), p. 57, no. 97, ill. p. 56 (upper left). I know of no other western Greek parallel. A similar bowl is in private

possession (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, negative T 75/463). I am indebted for the information to E. Künzl.

588 See text corresponding to note 301.

589 See above, note 302.

590 Plaster cast from Mit Rahine/Memphis, Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1134: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 101–102, 262, KBk 111, pl. 53a (around 300 B.C.). Bronze cup in Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36460: K. Parlasca, *JdI* 70 (1955), pp. 144–145, fig. 7; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 120–121, 254, KBk 60, pl. 61 (high Hellenistic).

591 See text corresponding to note 445.

592 See bowl from Civitā Castellana, Naples, Museo Nazionale 25285: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 114, KBk 123, 124, pl. 57c (1). See also the flower chart on p. 244, flower types 2 and 3 (catalogue no. 10).

593 See text corresponding to note 453.

594 See text corresponding to notes 301, 588.

595 See text corresponding to note 303.

596 See text corresponding to note 315.

597 That could mean that bowl nos. 4 and 5 belong already to the first century B.C. In this context, the special rendering of the central vein should be noted (see text corresponding to note 591).

598 For triangular acanthus leaves of the third century, compare alabastra from Asia Minor in Copenhagen, National Museum 15095 (Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 261, KBk 102, pl. 51a, b) and Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1976.70 (Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 261, KBk 103, pl. 51c).

599 Flowers on the mosaic by Gnosis in Pella: Pfrommer (1982), p. 131, fig. 3d.

600 See above, note 283.

601 See text corresponding to notes 206, 280–281.

602 For the horizontal arrangement of the veins, see text corresponding to note 593.

603 Compare the calyx on the basin from Chertomlyk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage Dn 1863,1/167: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 105–106, 257, KBk 77, pl. 53c. Compare also a plate from Tuch el-Karamus in Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38115: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 107–108, 256, 268, KBk 75 (KTK 16), pl. 18b.

604 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Smirnov, *Serebro*, p. 13, no. 22, pl. 8; Ackerman in Pope, *Survey*, vol. 1, p. 461, fig. 123; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, p. 99, no. 21, pl. 29; E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124; Lukonin, *Persien*, p. 70, fig. 33. Compare another phiale that evidently is a companion piece to the first, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Smirnov, *Serebro*, p. 13, no. 23, pl. 8; Trever, *Pamjatniki*, p. 101, no. 22, pl. 30; E. H. Minns, *JHS* 63 (1943), p. 124. On the bowls, see below, note 627.

605 To the best of my knowledge, significant objects from Russian sources are not represented on the art market.

606 See text corresponding to notes 463, 551, 563–564.

607 For the type of foliage, see text corresponding to notes 318–324.

608 See text corresponding to notes 325–327.

609 See text corresponding to note 625.

610 Compare similar flowers but without veined foliage on

the fragments of the famous amphora rhyton in Berlin, Antikensammlung Charlottenburg 8180: R. Zahn, *JdI* 82 (1967), pp. 24–26, figs. 4–6. The post-Achaemenid date of this vessel will be discussed in another context.

611 See text corresponding to note 653.

612 See text corresponding to note 579.

613 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.50.2 (see above, note 460).

614 See above, note 460.

615 See above, note 400.

616 The attribution of this cup is controversial. The Bactrian origin has been suggested above all by K. V. Trever (*Pamjatniki*, pp. 67–71, no. 14, pl. 14). The ornament lends support to a connection to the Seleucid repertoire (Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 138–139) and, given the provenance, a Bactrian origin seems likely.

617 A row of beads as a border to the ornament is to be found on the glass cups cited above in note 400.

618 On the shape of the vessels from Civit  Castellana: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–112.

619 See text corresponding to notes 442–443.

620 See text corresponding to notes 294–300. For the serrated Greek type, see for example the Bouleuterion from Miletos: H. Knackfuß, *Das Rathaus von Milet*, Milet, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Berlin, 1908), pl. 12.3.

621 See text corresponding to notes 633–634.

622 See text corresponding to notes 318–324.

623 From Sinope, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 60.535: E. L. B. Terrace, *AntK* 6 (1963), pp. 72–80, pls. 29, 30; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 88, 154, 252, KBk 41.

624 See above, note 459. T bingen, collection of the Archaeological Institute 5188/25: K. Parlasca, *JdI* 70 (1955), pp. 142–143, fig. 6; Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 263, KBk 119.

625 See text corresponding to note 609.

626 See Visconti (note 324), pl. 2 (above, blossom top right).

627 See above, note 604.

628 See text corresponding to note 570.

629 Here we can recall, for example, the coins in Bactria and the Indo-Greek realms (see above, note 28). In addition, we can cite the quality of the architectural decorations in Ai Khanoum (see above, notes 333, 337).

630 Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 129–182.

631 See text corresponding to notes 325–327.

632 See above, note 321.

633 On the treasure, see above, note 117. For a possibly much earlier object, see a medallion in Munich, Antikensammlungen SL 661c: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 73, no. 36, fig. 36.

634 See text corresponding to notes 452–453, 568.

635 See Pfrommer (1982), p. 131, fig. 3d.

636 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–116, pls. 56a, 58a–c.

637 See text corresponding to notes 299, 574.

638 On this type of scroll, see text corresponding to note 261.

639 Basin from Chertomlyk (see above, note 431).

640 See the vessels cited above in note 570. On the motif: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111, 119–121.

641 See above, note 322.

642 See above, note 452.

643 See the vessels in Munich cited above in note 322. Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–116.

644 For Achaemenid examples, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 88–91. For an example from Tillya-tepe, see above, note 455.

645 Bronze reliquary, Peshawar Museum 452 M: Ingholt (note 9), pp. 180–181, fig. 494. On the bottom of a golden reliquary from Begram, London, British Museum OA 1900.2–9.1: J. Rawson, *Orientalists: The Monthly Magazine for Collectors and Connoisseurs of Oriental Art* (November, 1984), p. 30, fig. 12. See also a leaf calyx: Rosenfield, *Kushans*, p. 225, fig. 156 (from Bodhgaya).

646 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 603, no. 400, pl. 178a.

647 See text corresponding to note 265.

648 Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: CVA Taranto, Museo Nazionale, vol. 3, no. 4 (IV D), p. 4, pl. 21.2 (Italia, 1599).

649 Compare for example the golden diadem from the “tomba degli ori” in Canosa, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 22.437: Becatti (note 26), p. 191, no. 353, pls. 88, 89; E. Lippolis in M. De Juliis, ed., *Gli Ori di Taranto in Et  Ellenistica* (Milan, 1984), pp. 122–125, no. 54 with ill. On a Seleucid glass bowl from the same tomb, see above, note 414.

650 D. B. Selov, *Tanais i Niznij Don III–I vv. do n.  * (Moscow, 1970), p. 171, fig. 1.

651 Pazyryk, Kurgan 2, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 98, pl. 67F.

652 Wall painting from Bukhara: Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 322, fig. 431; B. Rowland, *Zentralasien* (Baden-Baden, 1970), p. 68, ill. p. 75.

653 See text corresponding to note 611.

654 See text corresponding to notes 330–338.

655 See above, note 646.

656 See above, note 337.

657 See text corresponding to note 273 (larnax from the “tomb of Philip”).

658 See my comments in *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), p. 17, fig. 1d(A–C).

659 See above, note 337.

660 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AC.84: M. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), pp. 9–18, fig. 1.

661 Compare the narrow shape of the cup (see text corresponding to notes 465–473). In addition see a cup in Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection 40.3: Oliver, *Silver*, p. 85, no. 47 with ill.

662 See the weight inscriptions on catalogue nos. 2, 3, 13–15, 17.

663 For an Early Imperial inscription referring to a set of bowls, see E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 26–27.

664 Jug from Tell Anafa, Israel: S. S. Weinberg, *IEJ* 21 (1971), p. 106, fig. 7 (100–75 B.C.). Handles from Egypt in Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 910.197.16; 916.1.576/578–580: J. W. Hayes, *Greek, Roman, and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 64–66, nos. 100, 103–106 with ill. (second and first century B.C.).



665 Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 270–311; Altheim-Stiehl, pp. 596–607.

666 See the five-petaled rosettes with overlapping leaves (see text corresponding to notes 325–327).

667 J. C. Gardin in P. Bernard, ed., *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum*, vol. 1, MDFAFA, vol. 21 (Paris, 1973), pp. 145–146, nos. 73, 75–77, figs. 19, 20, pl. 134 (esp. no. 77, pl. 134). B. A. Litvinskij and A. V. Sedov, *Tepai-Sach* (Moscow, 1983), p. 153, pls. 12.2; 18.1; 29.1, 2.

668 Gardin (note 667), pp. 143–144, nos. 63–66, fig. 17.1, pl. 132. On this type of vessel see J.-C. Gardin, *Céramiques de Bactres*, MDFAFA, vol. 15 (Paris, 1957), p. 25, type 17, pl. 4.

669 Laumonier (note 581), p. 66, no. 6000, pls. 14, 131.

670 Jones (note 378), p. 261, no. 640, pl. 199 (lead glazed).

671 Athens, Agora Museum P 1495: Rotroff (note 457), p. 92, no. 408, pls. 71, 90.

672 Compare lead-glazed pottery in Jones (note 670) and A. Hochuli-Gysel, *Kleinasiatische glasierte Reliefkeramik*, Acta Bernensia, vol. 7 (Bern, 1977), p. 178, nos. S 48, 49, pls. 12, 59; p. 193, no. W 89, pls. 16, 63; pp. 197–198, nos. I 28, 30, 31, pls. 18, 65; pp. 149–150, nos. T 34, 36, 37, pl. 46; pp. 165–167, nos. T 176–177, 180, 182, 188, pl. 54.

673 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 416, no. 88, pl. 124; pp. 417, 431, nos. 90, 91, 220, pls. 124, 127; p. 590, nos. 270, 272, 273, pl. 174; p. 612, nos. 5a, b, pls. 187, 188.

674 See text corresponding to notes 481–482.

675 V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), p. 10, fig. 24; idem, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 127, pl. 19.9; Sarianidi, *Bactria*, p. 238, no. 3.16 with ill. For the coin, see ibid., pp. 186–187, 241, no. 3.47, pl. 130.

676 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, pp. 635–636, nos. 144–146, pl. 195h, k. On the find context, see Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, pp. 156–157, 180, 188.

677 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, pp. 134, 197–199.

678 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, p. 188 (deposit D, no. 4); Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 613, no. 11, pl. 187.11.

679 V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), p. 9, fig. 23 (anklet); idem, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 127, pl. 19.10 (bracelet; the passage in the text is not applicable to the illustration); Sarianidi, *Bactria*, p. 235, no. 2.33 with ill. (Tomb 2; anklets, heavier); 238, no. 3.17 with ill. (Tomb 3; bracelets, heavier); 249, no. 4.21 with ill. (Tomb 4; bracelets, faceted); 252, no. 5.4 with ill. (Tomb 5; anklets, heavier); 256, no. 6.16 with ill. (Tomb 6; anklets, heavier).

680 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 634, nos. 116–119, 121–132, pl. 195c, d, f, g.

681 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 634, nos. 122–124 (one of them with a clasp) and nos. 125–132 (with clasp). The fact that the objects in the illustrations on pl. 195c, d, g are in several parts is probably the result of damage.

682 From Bishkentskoy Doline: A. M. Mandel’shtam. *Trudy Akad. Nauk Tadzhikistan SSSR* 103 (Stalinabad, 1959), p. 147, fig. 9.

683 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 83, pl. 52 (banners). On the dating of the tombs, see below, note 688.

684 The interpretation as “braid sheaths” should also be considered: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 39, 82, pls. 19.1; 51.

685 From the Trans-Baikal, see Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 67, fig. 56; K. Jettmar, *Die frühen Steppenvölker* (Baden-Baden, 1964), p. 156, fig. 111. For the zigzag form, see also a bronze plaque in Stockholm: J. G. Anderson, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 4 (1932), p. 293, pl. 34.2; Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 67, fig. 55d.

686 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/100: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 62, pl. 23.11.

687 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 40, pl. 16.2, 3.

688 The dating is based on a Chinese wooden plate with an inscription: C. Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia (1924–25)*, Memoirs of the Academy of History of Material Culture, vol. 3 (Leningrad, 1932), pp. 14–15, 47–48, pl. 29.2 (A.D. 2); V. Griessmaier, *Artibus Asiae* 7 (1937), p. 134; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 87 (with references); Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 20.

689 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 242–243, no. 3.54 with ill. (top). Tomb 3, found with a coin of Tiberius. For the tomb, see below, note 690.

690 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 242–243, no. 3.54 with ill. (below). For the tomb, see above, note 689.

691 Belt clasps in St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/5;1/6: Minns, *Scythians*, p. 276, fig. 198; G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (London, 1928), pp. 70–71, pl. 46A, B.; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 206, no. 88 with ill.; Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 53, pl. 8.7, 8. See also a plaque: V. Griessmaier, *Artibus Asiae* 7 (1937), p. 152, figs. 18, 19.

692 The reference is to the “hook” that emerges from the horse’s back beneath its mouth. A wing like that of the lion-griffin in St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/5;1/6 (see above, note 691) would be unusual. The detail probably represents a part of the mane, as on a bronze plaque: V. Griessmaier, *Artibus Asiae* 7 (1937), p. 152, fig. 19. The position of the horse on the Malibu gold sheet is far more twisted.

693 Fabulous animals with twisted hindquarters on pendants from Tomb 2, Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 98–103, 231, no. 2.7, pls. 44–47.

694 Buckles from Dérestuj: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 66, pl. 32.4, as well as a pendant from inner Mongolia, Stockholm: J. G. Anderson, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 4 (1932), p. 267, pl. 24.2; Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 66, fig. 55b. Note the straight edge and the hook at the highest point of the bulge as well as the opening beneath it. The type seems to have reached Emesa, Syria, with the Parthians, Damascus Museum 7204: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 29 (1952), pp. 240–241, figs. 18–19, pl. 27.1.

695 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.1672: M. Rostovtzeff, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 1 (1924), pt. III, p. 17, pl. 4.3; idem, *Le centre de l’Asie* (note 112), p. 36, pl. 4.16; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 189, no. 72 with ill. (time of the Han dynasty); E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 144, no. 118, fig. 118. For a parallel in bronze, see E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 143, no. 117, fig. 117.

696 See catalogue no. 94.

697 G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (London, 1928), pp. 60, 70, pls. 48, 51. Selection of heads in Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 38, fig. 35.

698 See from Pazyryk, Tomb 3, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 159, figs. 77–79.

699 Kabul Museum: V. Sarianidi, *Afghanistan Journal* 6, no. 4 (1979), p. 123, fig. 2; idem, *AJA* 84 (1980), p. 126, pl. 17.3; idem, *Bactria*, p. 249, no. 4.17 with ill. (Tomb 4); p. 255, nos. 6.8–10 with ill. (Tomb 6). Tillya-tepe examples with raised rim: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, p. 234, no. 2.23 with ill. (Tomb 2); pp. 184, 236–237, nos. 3.4–6, pl. 125 (Tomb 3); pp. 61, 249, no. 4.20, pl. 3 (Tomb 4); p. 255, no. 6.11 with ill. (Tomb 6).

700 See text corresponding to notes 325–327, 666.

701 Mathura Museum: Rosenfield, *Kushans*, pp. 145–146, fig. 3. According to Rosenfield's chronology, the statue dates from the second century A.D. Note should be taken, however, of the controversy over the dating of the history of the Kushans (see below, note 716).

702 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 159, 233, no. 2.21, pl. 101 (Tomb 2).

703 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 72, 110, fig. 270, p (wood). Comparable finds of bronze from Ivolginsk and Sudzinsk: ibid., p. 72, pl. 32.3, 5. The blossom is also to be found on a finial for a post in Noin Ula (ibid., p. 75, pl. 33.4) and on an elaborately decorated wooden pedestal (ibid., p. 75, pl. 34.3).

704 Tomb 5, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 326, pl. 167A.

705 Cf. the textiles referred to in note 7, above.

706 Berlin, Antikensammlung 30221 u: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 60, pl. 37.1 with the related pieces in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (ibid., p. 55, fig. 6).

707 For beaded frames, see text corresponding to note 137.

708 Cf. the rectangular fields with a beaded border represented on textiles from Tomb 5. They should be seen as representations of “sewn on” appliqué, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 300, fig. 141, pls. 174, 175.

709 Tomb 5, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 289, pl. 154.

710 D.J. Samokvasov, *Mogili Russkoj Zemli* (Moscow, 1908), p. 76, figs. 28, 33; Ebert, *RV*, vol. 11 (Berlin 1927–28), pp. 173–176, pl. 40.10 (s.v. “Ryzhanovka”). From the Great Bliznitsa, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: L. Stephani, *CR* (1865), p. 92, pl. 3.34. For a more highly developed example from Akhtanizovka: Spizyn (1909), p. 20, no. 5, fig. 23; Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 553. On the dating of the tomb, see above, note 20.

711 See above, note 710 (Ryzhanovka and Bliznitsa).

712 Highly stylized in Pazyryk, Tomb 5, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 300, fig. 141. The motif itself was originally Achaemenid–Near Eastern, but it is often encountered in the Greek repertoire afterward: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 153, n. 982.

713 Rosenfield, *Kushans*, p. 144, fig. 2a right. On the chronological problem, see below, note 716.

714 See text corresponding to note 740.

715 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 91, fig. 71, pls. 57, 58.

716 Rosenfield, *Kushans*, pp. 145–146, fig. 3d left (see above, note 701); ibid., pp. 144–145, fig. 1a (King Vima Kad-

phises). The proposed dating of the Kushan kings varies greatly. See, e.g., the comments of Rosenfield (*Kushans*, pp. 253–258) on the “Kanishka Era,” in which he proposes a beginning between A.D. 110–115, and the analysis of Althelm-Stiehl, pp. 685–703, which places the reign of Kanishka I in the first half of the third century A.D. The latter view seems to be corroborated by the Kushan coinage: R. Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kusanreiches* (Vienna, 1984), pp. 57–70.

717 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 93, pls. 62, 63. In this context, note also the flower star on the sword scabbard of Kanishka mentioned above in note 713.

718 See the parallels from Tillya-tepe (see above, note 699).

719 See text corresponding to note 7.

720 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, pp. 93, 94, pls. 60–63. On the comparison made, see Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style* (note 7), p. 87. In agreement is O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Artibus Asiae* 27 (1964–65), p. 368.

721 On the leaf type, see text corresponding to notes 318–324. For the drawn-in contours of the leaves, see text corresponding to notes 429, 454–455.

722 Sixth-century appliqué from Olbia: B. Pharmakowsky, *AA* (1912), p. 355, fig. 43 right (worked as a pendant). Late fourth-, early third-century appliqué in St. Petersburg, Hermitage from the Great Bliznitsa: Stephani, *CR* (1865), pp. 75, 92, pl. 3.17, 18, 36. Third-century appliqué from Mal Tepe, Thrace, in Sofia, Archaeological Museum 6453: Venedikov and Gerassimov (note 1), p. 356, pl. 309. All without nymphaea foliage. Skyphos from Siverskaya Stanitsa (see below, note 732).

723 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 83, 227, no. 1.12, pl. 26 (Tomb 1, inlaid); p. 229, no. 1.24 with ill. (Tomb 1); pp. 69, 232, no. 2.12, pl. 11 bottom left (Tomb 2, cut out).

724 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 1, p. 160, no. 2; *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 632, no. 99, pl. 191w. Five-leaf calyx with a leaf star that has a double contour, with an Eros sitting in the center of the calyx. This motif has clearly been derived from the well-known Hellenistic motif of a figure in a leaf calyx: H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Lausanne and Freiburg, 1961), p. 192, fig. 108 (with parallels).

725 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 113, fig. 40f (silver).

726 Paris, Musée Guimet: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 106, fig. 73. There are flowers on the base on the right and left.

727 As an example, a mold from Athens (Pnyx): L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 34 (1959), pp. 59–60, fig. 1.

728 A similar border is to be found on a gold-glass medalion acquired in Egypt: Adriani (1967), p. 112, fig. 1; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 45 (1970), p. 129. I would consider the similarity as circumstantial because the tongues obviously refer to the Hellenistic shield decorations.

729 See text corresponding to note 463 (see chart, p. 244, type no. 46).

730 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 69, 232, no. 2.12, pl. 11 top and bottom right (Tomb 2).

731 Baghdad Museum: R. J. Braidwood in L. Waterman, *Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tell Umar, Iraq*

- (Ann Arbor, 1933), p. 66, pl. 24.3 (from level II, A.D. 40–120); Colledge, *Parthians*, pp. 92, 224, pl. 11d.
- 732 Moscow, Pushkin Museum: K. F. Smirnov, *Severskij Kurgan* (Moscow, 1953), pp. 9–10, pl. 4a (inv. 4889); p. 10, pl. 4b (inv. 4890: pentafoliate nymphaea rosette). For the nymphaea calyx, see above, note 722. For the tomb, see above, note 21.
- 733 See above, note 730.
- 734 Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures: Mozolevs'kij (note 42), p. 143, no. 202, fig. 126.4. Berlin, Antikensammlung Misc. 11863, 117/118: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 51, pl. 28.5–7. From Akhtanizovka: Spizyn (1909), p. 22, no. 14b, fig. 17; Rostowzew, *Skythien*, p. 553. On the burial, see above, note 20.
- 735 From Katerini: A. Despinis, *AAA* 13 (1980), p. 207, fig. 7. Gilt terracotta appliqué from Sedes: N. C. Kotzia, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1937) no. 3, pp. 892–893, fig. 28 (second row from the bottom). On the burial: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 182, FK 52. On the star motif, see the golden larnakes from the “tomb of Philip” in Vergina: *Treasures of Ancient Macedonia* (Athens, 1978), pp. 50, 53, nos. 86, 120, pls. 18, 19. Star appliqué are also found outside Macedonia. From Palaioastron (Thessaly): A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *AthMitt* 37 (1912), p. 103, pl. 6.11. For cut-out stars, see pieces in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: C. Alexander, *Jewelry: The Art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times* (New York, 1928), p. 47, no. 103 with ill. (with a too-early dating).
- 736 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 81, 236, no. 2.37, pl. 21 (Tomb 2); p. 240, no. 3.38 with ill. (Tomb 3).
- 737 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1885.471: M. Vickers, *Scythian Treasures in Oxford* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 47–48, pl. 18d. Berlin, Antikensammlung Misc. 11863, 119: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 51, pl. 28.8.
- 738 Rosenfield, *Kushans*, p. 145, fig. 3a–c. On the statue, see above, notes 701, 716.
- 739 Rosenfield, *Kushans*, p. 145, fig. 3d.
- 740 See above, note 713.
- 741 See above, note 717.
- 742 Compare, for example, a gold bracelet of “Siberian style” in the Museum in Peshawar: K. Jettmar, *Die frühen Steppenvölker* (Baden-Baden, 1964), p. 182, fig. p. 183; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 216. For the counterpart in Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum: E. C. Bunker in Bunker, “Animal Style,” p. 69, no. 40, fig. 40; Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 216, no. 96 with ill. (dated much too early with the third century B.C. as terminus post quem). See below, note 792.
- 743 On the camel, see Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 45, fig. 44, as well as the figure in the former Witsen Collection: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 13, fig. 3.
- 744 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 93, pls. 62, 63.
- 745 See the chariot in London, British Museum 123908 (see above, note 37). Also see small animal statuettes, London 123912/13: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 6, nos. 11, 12, pl. 6. With the stag, London 123914: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 6, no. 13, pl. 21, compare a piece in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z–556: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 62, pl. 22.12.
- 746 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z–546, Z–547, Z–550, Z–556, Z–559, Z–585: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, pp. 61–62, pl. 22.1–5, 10, 12. Rider in St. Petersburg, Hermitage Z–548 (see above, note 37).
- 747 Kabul Museum: Sarianidi, *Bactria*, pp. 233–234, no. 2.22 with ill. (very simple, Tomb 2); pp. 176–177, 250, no. 4.28, pl. 121 (Tomb 4).
- 748 See text corresponding to notes 169–183.
- 749 With a simple molding, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 123, fig. 62 (our fig. 45g); p. 134, fig. 68; p. 325, pl. 113A. As an animal's head: *ibid.*, p. 169, pl. 117B.
- 750 From Zubov's Barrow, five buttons in St. Petersburg, Hermitage: I. Vladimirov, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologiceskoj Komissii* (St. Petersburg) 1 (1901), p. 95, fig. 2; Minns, *Scythians*, p. 230, fig. 132 (pure Siberian type). On the sixth example in Berlin, Antikensammlung Misc. 30219, 1095: Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten*, vol. 1, p. 61, pl. 38.6–8 (Siberian, 27×16 millimeters). There are also buttons in the Zaporožhe Barrow: A. P. Mantsevich, *AJA* 86 (1982), p. 471, pl. 58.6 (of Imperial date) and in a secondary burial in the Kurzhips Kurgan: Minns, *Scythians*, p. 223, fig. 126 below; L. K. Galanina, *Kurzhipskij Kurgan* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 26–29, pl. 1 (second row, right and left).
- 751 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/32, 1727–1/33, 1727–1/49, 1727–1/50, 1727–1/90, 1727–1/93, 1727–1/94, 1727–1/97, 1727–1/98, 1727–1/99: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, pp. 28, 63, pl. 23.23–25, 28–31, 34–37. See also the examples from Minusinsk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage SI–247, 1124/19: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 28, fig. 24, pl. 27.5. A button in London, British Museum 124084: Dalton, *Treasure*, p. 46, no. 190, fig. 73 (dated much too early in the fourth century B.C.). A further example is in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art L 1983.119.41.
- 752 Kabul Museum: V. Sarianidi, *Mesopotamia* 15 (1980), pp. 12, 13, figs. 46–49; *ibid.*, *Bactria*, pp. 206–207, 247, nos. 4.5–7, pls. 148–152 (Tomb 4).
- 753 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Noin Ula*, p. 112, pl. 35.1. On the dating, see above, note 688.
- 754 Six pieces in Tillya-tepe (see above, note 752) and Zubov's Barrow (see above, note 750).
- 755 St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/1, 1727–1/13, 1727–1/16: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, pp. 51–52, pls. 4.1, 2; 5.5 (the tail of the captured animal is very similar to the tails of the Malibu griffins).
- 756 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 263, figs. 130–132. Figs. 130 and 131 with a bird's head that is not of the same type as the Greek griffin's heads.
- 757 London, British Museum 123924: Dalton, *Treasure*, pp. 11–13, no. 23, fig. 46, pl. 1; Barnett (1968), p. 44, pl. 8.3; Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 22, fig. 14.
- 758 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 249, pl. 149a. The motif is also to be found on a lion-griffin in St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/5, 1/6 (see above, note 691).
- 759 Compare the griffin rhyton from Tuch el-Karamus in Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38093: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 266, KTK 1, pl. 1 (our fig. 45i).
- 760 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 173, fig. 87; p. 141, pl. 84 (ram); pls. 85, 86A, B (eagle-griffin).
- 761 See above, note 760.

- 762 Rudenko (1958), pp. 103–106.
- 763 Mozolevs'kij (note 42), p. 35, fig. 21.4; p. 116, fig. 100.
- 764 See above, note 112 (Hermitage 1727–1/131).
- 765 See as an example the rhyton (see above, note 759).
- 766 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, p. 259, pl. 139L.
- 767 From Pazyryk, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Rudenko, *Tombs*, pp. 262–263, figs. 130, 131. For examples from Siberian goldwork, see St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1727–1/11, 1727–1/12: Dittrich, *Tierkampf*, p. 109, no. 11 with ill.: Rudenko, *Sammlung*, p. 52, pl. 6.3, 4.
- 768 O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Central Asiatic Journal* 3, no. 2 (1957), pp. 85–138. A Chinese horse statuette is rather closely related: see *ibid.*, p. 119, fig. 27. The comparison is, however, of doubtful value given the very late dating of the statuette.
- 769 See above, note 762.
- 770 Rudenko (1958), p. 104, fig. 1b; *idem*, *Tombs*, p. 231, fig. 113.
- 771 U. Hausmann, *X. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 209–227.
- 772 Munich, Antikensammlungen 4338: J. Ahrens, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968), p. 233, fig. 7; Hausmann (note 771), pp. 217–222, fig. 81 (mid-second century B.C.).
- 773 New York, Pomerance Collection: A. Oliver, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 19 (1977), pp. 16–20, figs. 3, 4; *idem*, *Silver*, p. 90, no. 53, fig. 53 (late second century B.C.).
- 774 Oliver, *Jahrbuch* (note 773), pp. 16–17. He compares the scroll on the thymiaterion from Tarentum (see above, note 275). The comparison is valid insofar as both are floral tendrils, but the floral repertoire is entirely different. Similar to a decoration from Pergamon, the tendril on the bowl bears a spiral volute: Pfrommer (1982), p. 174, nn. 267, 268 (I dated the tendril cited in n. 267 too early—it may be from the late second century B.C., according to the Lesbian cyma of the decoration). For the late type of ivy used on the bowl: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 114.
- 775 Compare the glass bowl from the Foroughi Collection (see above, note 204).
- 776 Reggio di Calabria Museum: Rostovtzeff, *GWHW*, vol. 1, pl. 44.1; Adriani (1967), p. 112, pl. 5A; D. B. Harden, *JGS* 10 (1968), p. 32, figs. 31, 32 (with references). For the tomb: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 237, n. 1801, FK 63. A bowl of this type is probably also represented among the casts from Mit Rahine/Memphis in Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum 1153: Reinsberg, *Törentik*, p. 295, no. 5, fig. 8.
- 777 Kabul Museum 57.77: J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDFAFA, vol. 9 (Paris, 1939), pp. 46–47, no. 216 (70), figs. 47–52, pls. 20–22; *idem*, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDFAFA, vol. 11 (Paris, 1954), no. 216, fig. 356; Rowland (note 94), pp. 33–34, no. 8 with ill.; F. Mortimer Rice and B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan* (London, 1971), p. 77, figs. 87, 88.
- 778 For cymatia with leaves having longer, pointed tips, see M. Pfrommer, *IstMitt* 37 (1987), pp. 148–159, pls. 43.2–5; 44–46.
- 779 Private collection, said to have been found in Galaxidhi close to Corinth: K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1960), p. 252, no. 319 with ill.; *The Search for Alexander* (note 273), suppl. New York, p. 15, no. S 53 with ill.
- 780 Cumont (note 12), pp. 222–225, pl. 85.1; P. V. C. Baur, *Dura: Preliminary Reports*, vol. 4 (New Haven, 1933), p. 236. See above, note 389.
- 781 H.-P. Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhara*, MDFAFA, vol. 23 (Paris, 1979), pl. 7, no. 14; pl. 8 (*ibid.*, p. 90, beginning of the earliest group in the second century B.C.).
- 782 *Ibid.*, pl. 50B.
- 783 See K. Parlasca in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and F. Winter, eds., *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2 (Mainz 1983), p. 151, pls. 20–27.
- 784 Handle attachment from Epiros, Berlin, Antikensammlung 7806: W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, 14. Ergänzungsheft *JdI* (Berlin, 1942), p. 181, fig. 88 (Corinth); G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* 50 (1946), p. 364, no. 10, pl. 25.9; Diehl, *Hydria*, p. 221 B 190. Hydria from Telos, London British Museum: Züchner, pp. 180–181; Richter, p. 364, no. 7, pl. 24.7; Diehl, *Hydria*, p. 221, B 187. The interpretation of the figures is controversial and G. M. A. Richter has already rejected “Eros and Psyche.” Iris and Zephyros was suggested by E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (Berlin, 1959), p. 38, an identification accepted by Diehl, *Hydria*, p. 40.
- 785 M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York, 1977), pp. 49–50, pl. 32, figs. 177, 178; pl. 33, figs. 180–183 (Bieber interprets the statuary type as a nymph).
- 786 On this type: M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961), p. 150, fig. 638.
- 787 For the upper-arm bracelet, cf. replicas of the Knidian Aphrodite or the “Aphrodite Arles”: L. Alscher, *Griechische Plastik*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1956), pp. 44–46, 63–65, figs. 14a, b, 21a, b; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 139–142, fig. 21.1–3. For the snake bracelet, see the crouching Aphrodite in J. Paul Getty Museum 55.AA.10: C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1973), pp. 10–11, no. 19 with ill.
- 788 Tunis, Bardo Museum: W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, 2 Bilderheft DAI Rom (Tübingen, 1963), p. 16, no. 5, pl. 14.
- 789 See Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 129–132.
- 790 This band cannot be compared with the necklaces with animal head finials, which have erroneously been interpreted as thigh bands (Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 82).
- 791 Sotheby's, London (July 12, 1971), p. 25, no. 65 with ill. (Parthian). Italy, which also knew large pendants, can be excluded here, since the representation and the scroll point to the Hellenistic Near East.
- 792 Appliqué: W. Speiser, *Vorderasiatische Kunst* (1952), pl. 113 right (now lost). The appliqué was reportedly found with a bracelet of the first century A.D. now in Cologne (see above, note 742). The date is reconfirmed by the similarity of the bracelet to the Tillya-tepe finds. Medallion with carnelian in gold setting from Taxila, Sirkap: Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, p. 681, no. 30, pl. 207.11. The first-century date is corroborated by the necklace from the same complex, which finds parallels in Tillya-tepe (see above, note 571). For a much later example

of our composition, see a relief: Hallade, *Indien*, p. 68, fig. 50.

793 M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), pp. 254–255, figs. 12, 13.

794 Compare the relative lack of folds on the drapery of a nymph on a plaster cast in Munich, *Antikensammlungen*: G. M. A. Richter in F. Eckstein, ed., *Theoria: Festschrift W.-H. Schuchhardt* (Baden-Baden, 1960), pp. 179–183 with ill.

795 See portraits of Metrodorus and Hermarchus: G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 2 (London, 1965), pp. 200–206, figs. 1259–1267, 1319–1324.

796 Compare the frontality of Ariadne on the krater from Derveni, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum B 1: *The Search for Alexander* (note 273), pp. 164–165, no. 127, pl. 20 (left). For an example from the third century B.C., see the pyxis in the treasure from Tarentum: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 262, KBk 113, pl. 33.

797 Hausmann (note 771), pp. 225–226.

798 See text corresponding to note 266.

799 Gold-decorated black-glaze pottery: G. Kopcke, *AttMitt* 79 (1964), pp. 61–62, Beilage 18.2; 22.1; 34.1, 7.

800 See text corresponding to notes 264–265.

801 On this type see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 71.

802 Oliver, *Silver*, p. 79, no. 43, with reference to the Cività Castellana group. For this treasure, which contains no less than three vessels of the construction in question, see text corresponding to notes 324, 626. Another vessel of this type, belonging to a Ptolemaic hoard, was recently in the art market.

803 Achaemenid deep cup from the earlier fourth century B.C.: W. M. F. Petrie, *Beth-Pelet*, vol. 1 (London, 1930), p. 10, no. 30, pl. 28.756; Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 51–52, 228, KaB A 142.

804 Among these examples are a krater, a cup whose foot and handles are missing, several kantharoi, and a pair of originally foot- and handleless cups from the Hildesheim Treasure, buried in early Imperial times, Berlin, *Antikensammlung* 3779.5–6; 3779.9; 3779.10–14; 3779.62/63; E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 28–40, pls. 6, 7, 9–16. Also a pair of kantharoi from a group of silver of late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. date, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.A1.54 and 75.A1.55; A. Oliver, *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980), pp. 155–159, figs. 2–9, esp. fig. 5 (inner liner). Also a bowl of the same date with cranes in Malibu, 72.A1.33; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977), pp. 79–84, figs. 1–5. Pyxides, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982.11.11A–C: Bothmer (1984), p. 57, no. 101 with ill. (from Magna Graecia). A counterpart is likewise in the Metropolitan Museum (1984.11.3). See also the lid and the container of a pyxis reportedly from Asia Minor in Berlin, *Antikensammlung* 1967.3 (Oliver, *Silver*, p. 88, no. 51 with ill.).

805 Toledo, Museum of Art 61.9; Oliver, *Silver*, pp. 116–118, no. 76 with ill. and reference to a similar container in the Museum of Kayseri in central Turkey (ibid., p. 118, fig. 76a).

806 On this type in general: B. Svoboda in B. Svoboda and D. Concev, *Neue Denkmäler antiker Törentik* (Prague, 1956), pp. 36–37, figs. 9, 10; C. K. Wilkinson, *BMMA* 15, pt. 1 (1956), pp. 9–15; R. Ghirshman, *Artibus Asiae* 25 (1962), pp.

57ff.; L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *BABesch* 40 (1965), pp. 92–93; C. K. Wilkinson in A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art*, vol. 14 (London and New York, 1967), pp. 2979–2980, fig. 1492.

807 Pope and Ackerman (note 806), p. 2963, fig. 1035 (ram's head; Hasanlu IV, circa 1000–800 B.C.).

808 Teheran Museum, L. Vanden Berghe (note 6), p. 115, pl. 143e (ram's head); C. K. Wilkinson in Pope and Ackerman (note 806), p. 2980; Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford (note 806), p. 93, fig. 3. Also to be noted is a gazelle's head vase with the same provenance in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.142.1: H. Hoffmann, *AntK* 4 (1961), p. 24, pl. 12.4; Wilkinson, p. 2979, fig. 1492A.

809 M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, vol. 1 (London, 1966), fig. 124 (ram's head; possibly buried 700–680 B.C.; length: 225 mm).

810 A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900), pl. 3 (ram's and horse's heads).

811 New York, Pomerance Collection: *The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art*, exh. cat., Brooklyn Museum (New York, 1966), p. 48, no. 54 with ill. and references (length: 280 mm; said to be from Kaplantu, northwestern Iran). New York, Collection of Dolores Selikowitz: *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1961–62), p. 83, no. 492, pl. 35. Silver rhyton in Paris, Musée du Louvre AO 27909, said to be from Ziwiye. On this type, see also R. H. Dyson, *Expedition*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1958), p. 19 with ill.

812 Bronze rhyton in Teheran, Collection Foroughi: *Sept mille ans* (note 811), no. 284, pl. 17. Golden rhyton in Teheran Museum: *7000 Jahre Kunst in Iran*, exh. cat., Villa Hügel, Essen (1962), p. 118, no. 324, pl. 59 (Achaemenid). Gold rhyton in New York, Collection H. Kevorkian, ibid., p. 119, no. 329, pl. 60 (Achaemenid). The authenticity of the golden examples seems not to be beyond doubt.

813 From Enkomi, see above, note 810.

814 Found in 1734, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Smirnov, *Serebro*, no. 17, pl. 5; Pope, *Survey*, vol. 1, p. 375, fig. 87; H. Otto, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, n.s. 14 (1944), p. 18, fig. 6; A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiye (Kurdistan)* (Haarlem, 1950), p. 76, fig. 65; Svoboda (note 806), p. 37, fig. 10. A golden “copy” of doubtful authenticity was published with the provenance “Ziwiye”: E. D. Phillips in *Versunkene Kulturen: Geheimnis und Rätsel früherer Welten* (1970), p. 170, fig. 13. Also to be mentioned is a silver rhyton with a long vessel and broad Achaemenid canelures: Wilkinson (note 808), p. 2979, fig. 1492B. Similar is a rhyton formerly in the art market, Sotheby's, London (July 13, 1970), p. 18, no. 23.

815 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 47.100.87: C. K. Wilkinson, *BMMA* 7 (1949), pp. 186–187, ill. on p. 196; Svoboda (note 806), p. 36, fig. 9.

816 H. Hoffmann, *AntK* 4 (1961), pp. 21–26, pls. 8–12; idem in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 4 (=Occasional Papers on Antiquities, vol. 5) (Malibu, 1989), pp. 137–141.

817 Cincinnati Art Museum 1960.495; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 221, fig. 263B (sixth or seventh century A.D.).

818 As examples for representations of bulls in Achaemenid style, compare the well-known capitals from Persepolis: R. Ghirshman (note 47), pp. 215–217, figs. 264, 266. See also a bull rhyton from the first half of the first century B.C. from the Borowo Treasure in Bulgaria in Russe, *Historical Museum II-359: Gold der Thraker* (note 1), p. 146, no. 290, ill. on p. 136.

819 See text corresponding to notes 356–358.

820 See above, note 818. For jewelry, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 110–112. For the religious interpretation, see

H.-G. Buchholz, *Acta praehistorica et archaeologica* 11–12 (1980–81), pp. 55–77.

821 In 1990 in the New York art market.

822 St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Reinach, *ABC*, pp. 87–88, pl. 36.1–3; I. Marazov, *Ritonite v drevna trakija* (Sofia, 1978), pp. 55–56, figs. 50, 51; M. Pfrommer, *JdI* 98 (1983), pp. 268–270 (with older references).

823 B. N. Arakeljan, *Sovetskaja Archeologija* (1971), pt. 1, pp. 143–145, figs. 6–9; Marazov (note 822), p. 60, fig. 53; Pfrommer (note 822), p. 173, figs. 34, 35.

# CATALOGUE

## NOTE TO THE READER

UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, ALL OBJECTS IN THE catalogue were purchased on the European art market. Within the entries, the indication "see chart" refers to the chart of flower types on page 244. In the drawings, areas in gray normally indicate gilding. Only in the case of the tendril decorations on the bowls from treasure I (nos. 1–17) did it seem advisable to make an exception to this practice. The tendril friezes, medallions, and other ornaments are all gilt, and in these drawings the backgrounds of the scroll friezes have been shown in gray only in order to facilitate the reproduction of the overall decoration. The tendril friezes have not been foreshortened to suggest perspective but have been drawn as if flat to show, as far as possible, the actual size

relationships. All vessel profiles, which are grouped together at the end of the catalogue section, are reproduced 2:3. Photographs of the objects are not reproduced to any consistent scale but have been proportioned to reflect their relative size within the context of the entire group.

The translations and dating of the Aramaic inscriptions were provided by Professor R. Degen, University of Munich. The technical remarks concerning the bowls from treasure I are based on the observations of Jerry Podany, Conservator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum, and David Scott, Head of Museum Services, the Getty Conservation Institute.





no. 1

Plate 1



no. 4



no. 14





no. 66



no. 72



no. 74





no. 127





no. 128

## TREASURE I

DATE: Second century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), fig. 12B (detail); idem, *IstMitt* 37 (1987), p. 176, fig. 9.

### 1 *Bowl with Anchor and Dolphin Medallion*

Silver; Diameter: 185–186.5 mm; Height: 43 mm; Thickness: 1 mm; at the lip, 3 mm; Weight: 407.8 g  
81.AM.84.1

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. One of the best-made vessels in treasure I. On the inside an inverted Seleucid anchor and a dolphin on a scale pattern medallion, framed by a groove. Except for the anchor and dolphin, the emblem is gilt. The anchor was one of the most important dynastic emblems of the Seleucid dynasty and consequently points to a workshop in the Seleucid sphere of influence. The dolphin and anchor motif occurs first in the second century B.C., and it seems possible that the dolphin can be interpreted as a symbol for the nomadic Parthians that invaded Iran in the later third century and, after a period of alliance, finally ended the Seleucid dominance over the Iranian territories in the second century (see the introduction). The combination of both motifs might refer to this historical situation.

The central medallion is bordered by a floral tendril of the “companion tendril” type. For the flower types, see chart. The scroll belongs to the first group of the tendril decorations that can be dated to the second century B.C. The tendril is framed by two grooves and is gilt. The inner molding of the lip is also gilt.

In contrast to all the other bowls in treasure I, this example is also decorated on the outside, though only modestly. Beneath the lip there is a gilt trefoil garland with bound trefoil groups that are especially typical for the Hellenized Near East and occur for the first time in the late third century B.C. There are also turned, gilt grooves in the center of the vessel. This vessel and the others in treasure I give lively evidence of the strong influence of Greek-Hellenistic forms in the Hellenized Near East even after the eventual breakdown of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian rule.

CONDITION: The interior of the bowl, including the gilding, is in an excellent state of preservation. The first 25 millimeters below the rim on the outside is shinier than the rest. Almost no traces remain of the gilding on the bottom of the bowl's exterior.





## 2 Bowl with Anchor and Dolphin Medallion

Silver; Diameter: 265–269 mm; Height: 71 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 3.5 mm; Weight: 628.8 g  
81.AM.84.2

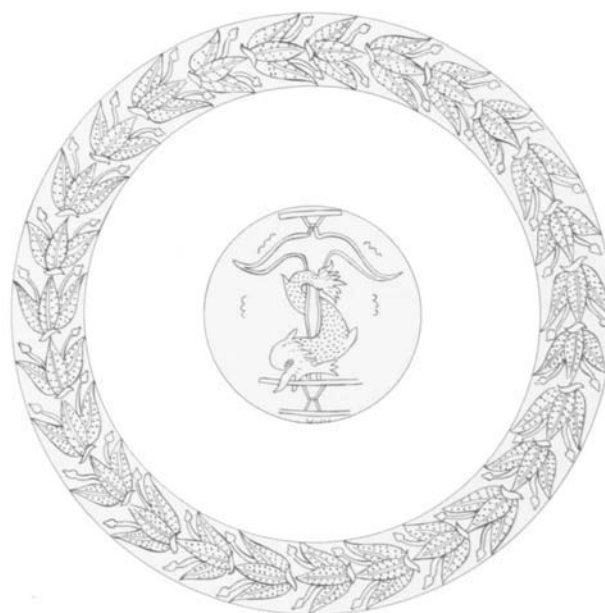
**DESCRIPTION:** Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside an inverted Seleucid anchor and a dolphin on a scale pattern medallion (see no. 1). The vessel proves that this emblem motif was still in use after the breakdown of the Seleucid dominance over Iran. The emblem is gilt as is the trefoil garland with bound trefoil groups (see no. 1). Gilt wave meander beneath the lip. The gilding on the garland and on the emblem does not conform to the edges of the ornament. Because of its deep profile, the bowl should belong to the third group from treasure I (first century B.C.).

**INSCRIPTION:** Length: 62 mm; Height: 13 mm. In Aramaic (first century B.C.), on the exterior, below the lip: *zwzyn 151*

“Zwzyn” indicates a unit of weight and corresponds most likely to the Parthian drachma, which varied between about 3.7 and 4.3 grams. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.16 grams (628.8:136).

**CONDITION:** Cracks in the middle and near the rim, no parts missing. Gilding has come off in places on the rim and to a more limited extent in the medallion. The surface of the exterior is darker than the interior and has a few splotchy, blackish discolorations. The vessel was most probably deposited upside down in antiquity, resulting in better conservation of the interior.

**DATE:** First century B.C.





### 3 *Bowl with Anchor and Dolphin Medallion*

Silver; Diameter: 209–210 mm; Height: 48 mm; Thickness: 1 mm; at the lip, 4.5 mm; Weight: 420.1 g  
81.AM.84.3

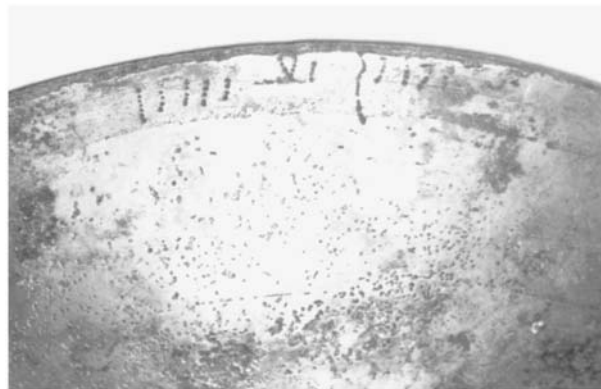
DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside an inverted Seleucid anchor and a dolphin on an irregularly patterned scale medallion (see no. 1). The emblem and the wave meander beneath the lip are gilt. Gilding only cursorily applied, as on no. 2. Exterior undecorated.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 48 mm; Height: 12 mm. In Aramaic (first century B.C.) on the exterior beneath the rim:  
*zwzyn 105*

For the meaning of “zwzyn” see no. 2 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.0 grams (420.1:105).

CONDITION: Fully preserved, only slightly bent. Small areas of gilding have flaked off. About 20 percent of the original surface on the exterior now lost. As the discoloration on the exterior shows, another vessel with a diameter of about 195 millimeters (which corresponds more or less with the diameter of nos. 4 and 22) originally was placed upside down on top of this one. The second vessel eventually slid off, as can be inferred from the uniform damage on the entire surface of the exterior.

DATE: According to the inscription, first century B.C.







#### 4 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Medallion*

Silver; Diameter: 197 mm; Height: 45 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 2.5 mm; Weight: 240.6 g

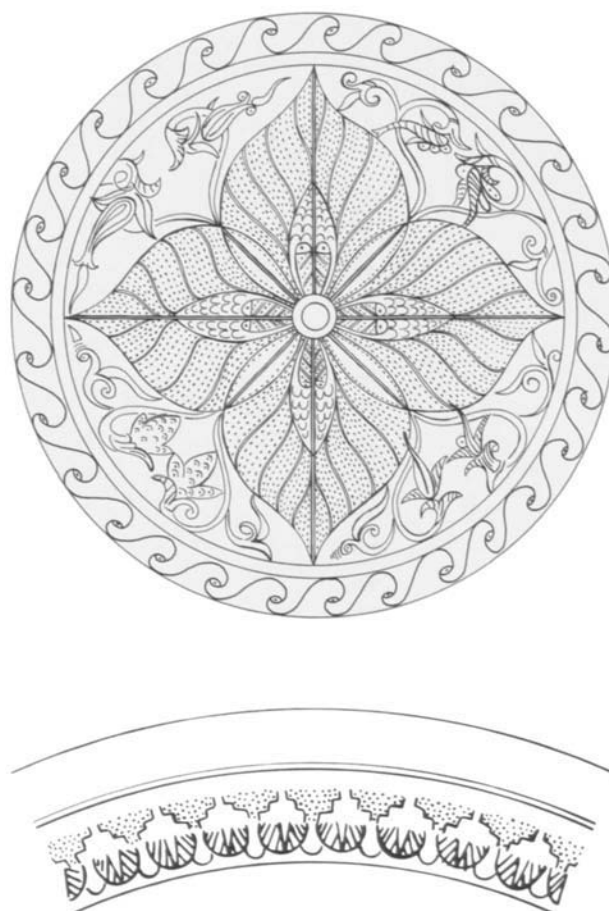
81.AM.84.4

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Decorated on the inside with a medallion, a quatrefoil ivy calyx rising from an eight-leaf lanceolate calyx. Four of the lanceolate leaves are decorated with a scale pattern, and with small superimposed nymphaea-like leaves. The flowers between the tips of the ivy (see chart) make an attribution to the early group of treasure I likely.

The background between the blossoms is dotted to a somewhat higher degree than the leaves of the ivy. The medallion is framed first by a turned groove and then by a wave meander. The emblem, including the meander, is gilt. An "Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze" beneath the lip suggests a workshop of the Hellenized Near East. Below the embattlements but not with coinciding axes runs a miniature leaf frieze. The exterior is undecorated. The traces of the incised decoration appear in negative on the exterior.

CONDITION: There are numerous cracks, but except for a small missing fragment, the piece is fully preserved. The bowl is bent slightly. The original surface of the exterior is partially lost. With the exception of minor damage, the gilding is fully preserved. As the discoloration on the exterior shows, a small vessel of 113 millimeters in diameter originally lay on the reversed bowl.

DATE: First century B.C.





## 5 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Medallion*

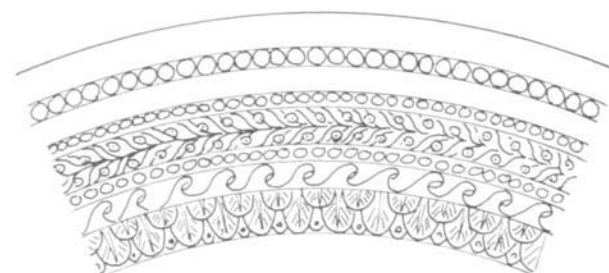
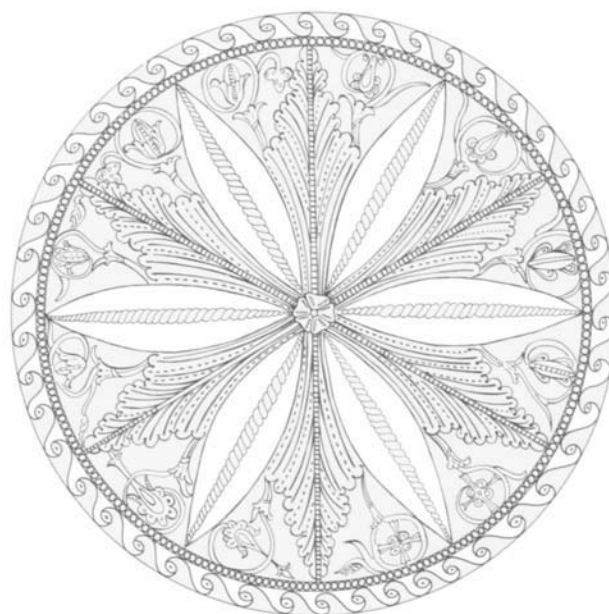
Silver; Diameter: 204–210 mm; Height: 57 mm; Thickness: 1 mm; at the lip, 3 mm; Weight: 419.8 g  
81.AM.84.5

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. As a medallion on the inside center, six lanceolate leaves and six acanthus leaves form a calyx around a small five-leaf central rosette. Seleucid acanthus leaves with round serrations are used for the back row of the calyx. The flowers between the tips of the leaves favor an attribution to the first group of bowls from treasure I (see chart).

A beaded line and a wave meander border the medallion. Except for the lanceolate leaves, the emblem is gilt. Beneath the lip runs a guilloche, a wave meander, and a miniature leaf frieze. The background of the wave meander is left ungilded in both cases. Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: The bowl is somewhat bent, as is the rim. There is a long crack in the wall. The gilding in the medallion zone is almost fully preserved. The exterior was partly covered with incrustations (before cleaning), which suggests that the vessel was deposited upside down.

DATE: Second century B.C.





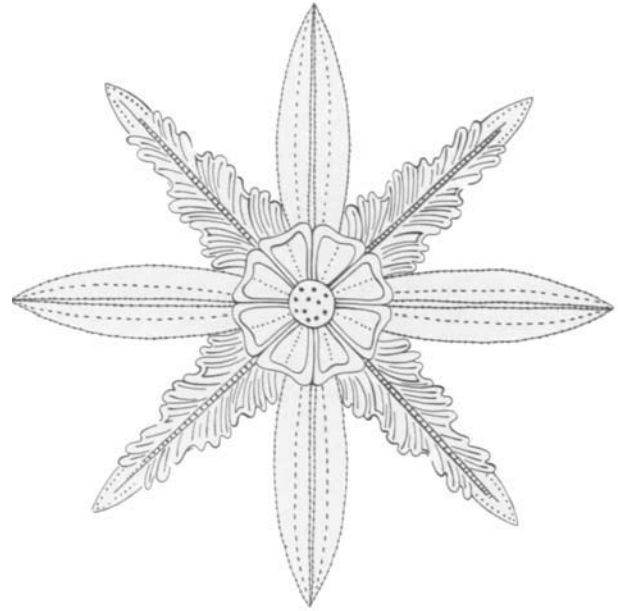
## 6 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Medallion*

Silver; Diameter: 198–201 mm; Height: about 50 mm;  
Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 2.5 mm; Weight: 260.7 g  
81.AM.84.6

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. An eight-leaf, single-row lanceolate and acanthus star inside as a medallion. The star emerges from an eight-leaf rosette. Seleucid acanthus (see no. 5). All of the leaves are gilt. Beneath the lip there is a gilt “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Several cracks. With the exception of minor damage, the gilding is preserved. Surface damaged in several places.

DATE: Second or first century B.C.





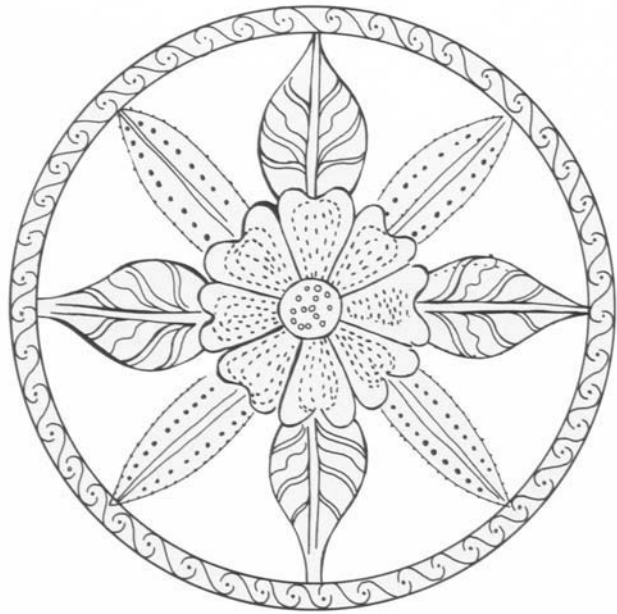
## 7 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Medallion*

Silver; Diameter: 191–194 mm; Height: 61 mm; Thickness: 0.3 mm; at the lip, 2 mm; Weight: 245.9 g  
81.AM.84.7

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Decorated with a medallion inside, an eight-leaf lanceolate ivy calyx that develops out of an eight-leaf “nymphaea calyx.” The edges of the leaves are beaded and the leaves themselves are gilt. The ornament is framed by a gilt wave meander. The gold leaf is not carefully cleaned according to the contours of the ornaments. Beneath the lip there is a gilded “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Large cracks in the middle of the vessel but no parts missing. Traces of blackish discoloration on the exterior. Interior well preserved. Minor damage to gilding.

DATE: Second or first century B.C.







## 8 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Medallion and Tendril Frieze*

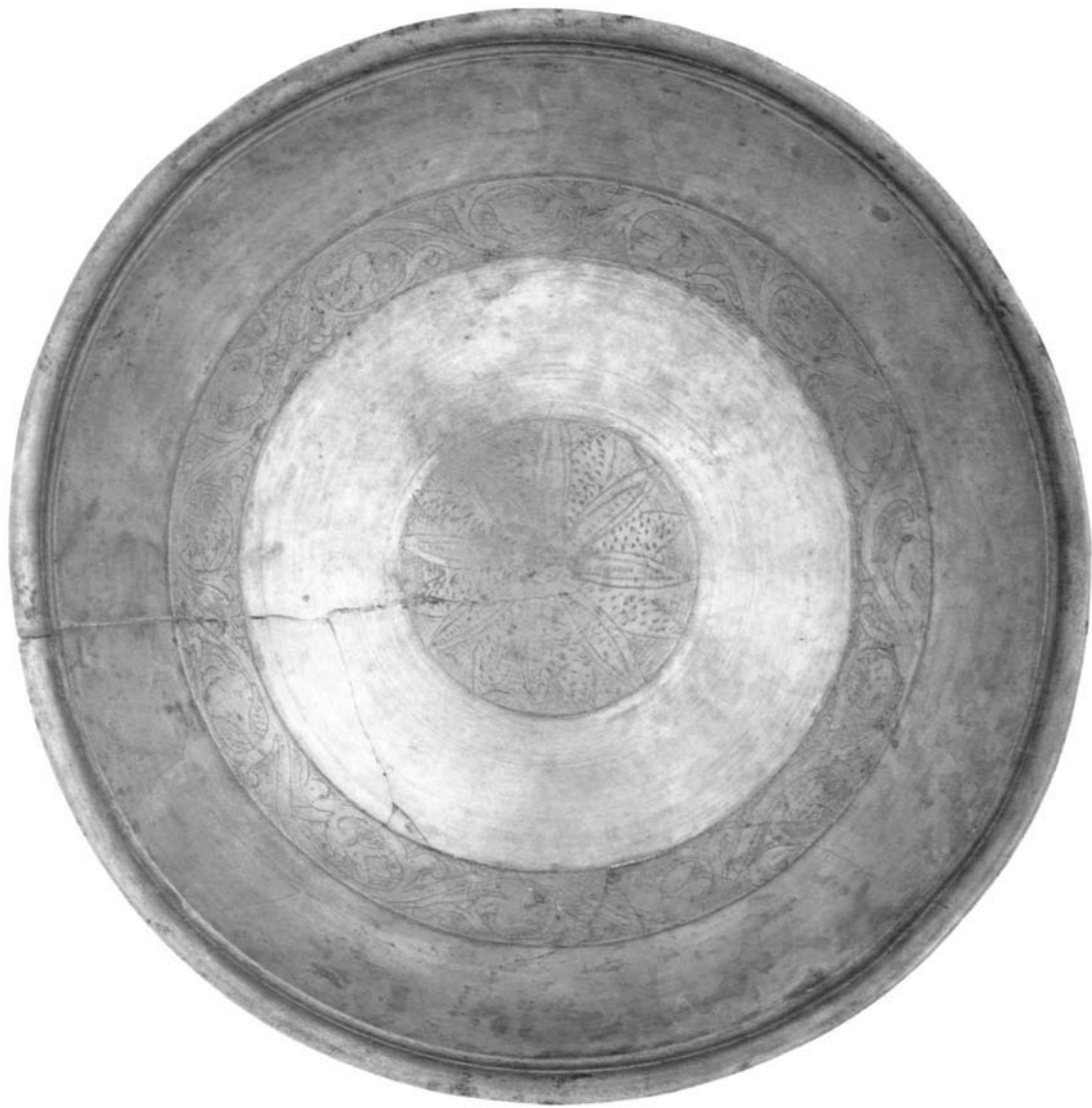
Silver; Diameter: 174–178 mm; Height: 51 mm; Thickness: 0.3 mm; at the lip, 2 mm; Weight: 135.5 g  
81.AM.84.8

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside as a medallion a gilt, sixteen-leaf star on a dotted background that relates the vessel to no. 68 and points to a date in the first century B.C. The back row of leaves is beaded but without any indication of ribs. The calyx was very cursorily worked. Framing, “endless” ivy and blossom tendril. For the flowers, see chart. The tendril frieze and the background are gilt. There is also a gilt strip beneath the lip. Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Several large cracks. The metal shows greenish discoloration on the outside that suggests the vessel was deposited upside down, protecting the interior from the discoloring agent. Interior gilding well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.





## 9 *Bowl with Scale Medallion and Tendril Frieze*

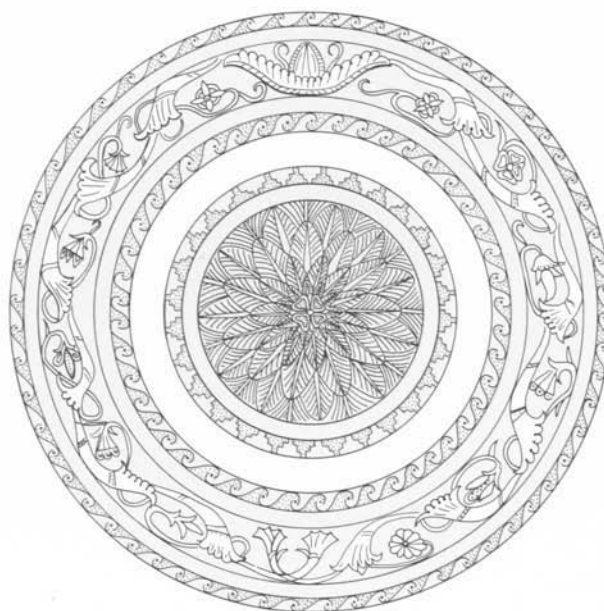
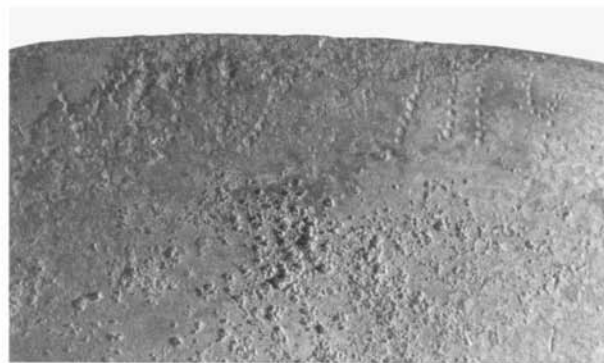
Silver; Diameter: 159–163 mm; Height: 49 mm; Thickness: 1 mm; at the lip, 3.5 mm; Weight: 287.9 g  
81.AM.84.9

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a gilt scale medallion with a rosette in the center. The rows of the fish scale pattern are staggered. The medallion is framed first by a narrow silver strip and then by a gilt “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). Above the frieze there is a floral scroll framed by a gilt wave meander. The tendril places the vessel in the second group of treasure I; for the flower types, see chart. The tendril is also gilt. Seleucid acanthus (see no. 5). Beneath the lip of the vessel there is a gilt “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze.” The ornamental friezes are set off by turned grooves. Exterior undecorated.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 25 mm; Height: 4 mm. Traces of an Aramaic inscription on the exterior beneath the rim.

CONDITION: Fully preserved, but with a partially reddish, partially grayish coating on the outside. About a third of the rounded lip is roughened and the stepped frieze beneath it is damaged. The interior is otherwise well preserved, but in a few places, the gilding has flaked off.

DATE: Late second or early first century B.C.





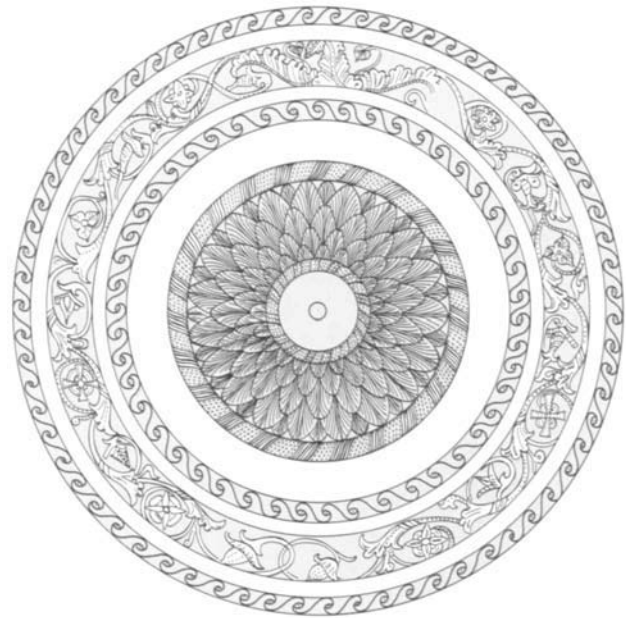
## 10 *Bowl with Scale Medallion and Tendril Frieze*

Silver; Diameter: 230–244 mm; Height: 63 mm; Thickness: 0.7 mm; at the lip, 4 mm; Weight: 459.3 g  
81.AM.84.10

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Decorated with a scale medallion with an empty center in the interior, framed by two Seleucid garlands, which suggest a Near Eastern workshop. The gilt emblem is bordered by a floral tendril, which places the bowl in the first group of treasure I and speaks in favor of a second-century date. The scroll rises from a small calyx of Seleucid acanthus (see no. 5) and is framed by gilt wave meanders running in opposite directions. For the flower types, see chart. The background of the tendril is gilt. Beneath the lip there is a gilt “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). The ornamental friezes are set off by turned grooves. In addition to these grooves, the broad silver strips are also somewhat recessed. Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Several cracks. Surface badly damaged both inside and out; in many places the gilding has come off.

DATE: Second century B.C.







## 11 *Bowl with Scale Medallion and Tendrils Frieze*

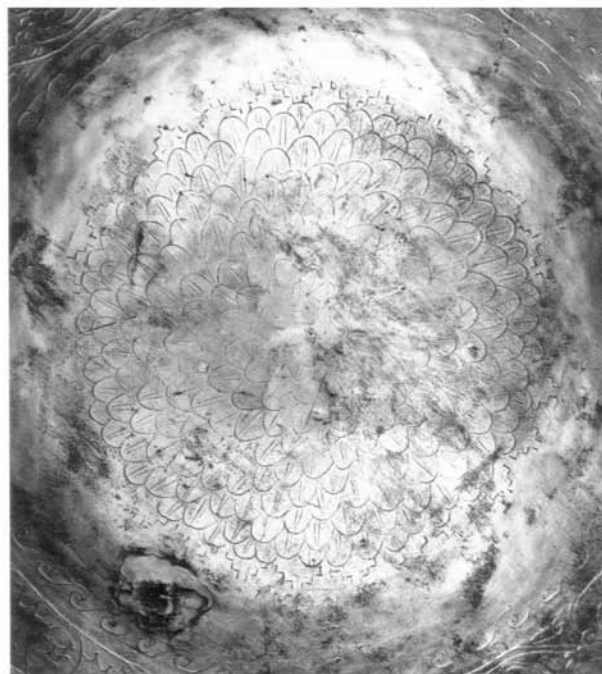
Silver; Diameter: 240–245 mm; Height: 60 mm; Thickness: 0.3 mm; at the lip, 4 mm; Weight: 504.6 g

81.AM.84.11

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside an irregular, very worn scale medallion framed by an “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). The medallion is bordered by a flower tendril that places the bowl in the second group of treasure I and speaks for a dating in the later second or earlier first century B.C. For the flower types, see chart. The frieze is framed by wave meanders running in opposite directions. The medallion and frieze were originally gilt, as were the engraved wave meander beneath the lip and the “Achaemenid stepped battlement frieze” (see no. 4). Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: A crack about 20 centimeters long, repaired in modern times. Minor damage to the surface of the exterior. Gilding almost totally lost.

DATE: Later second or earlier first century B.C.





## 12 Bowl with Scale Medallion

Silver; Diameter: 213–218 mm; Height: 53–55 mm; Thickness: 0.7 mm; at the lip, 3 mm; Weight: 462.2 g  
81.AM.84.12

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside an irregular, gilt scale medallion. One-half of each scale showing veins. The gold leaf is not carefully cleaned according to the contours of the ornaments. A gilt wave meander beneath the lip. Exterior undecorated. Although contemporaneous with the third group from treasure I (see chart) according to its inscription, the shallow profile of no. 12 does not follow the bulging type represented by nos. 14–16.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 53 mm; Height: 13 mm. An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. on the outside of the bowl beneath the lip: *zwzyn 114*

For the meaning of “zwzyn,” see no. 2 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.0 grams (462.2:114).

CONDITION: Exterior surface partially damaged. Gilding well preserved, though there is very limited loss on the wave meander.

DATE: First century B.C.





### 13 Bowl with Tendril Frieze

Silver; Diameter: 222–224 mm; Height: 52 mm; Thickness: 0.7 mm; at the lip, 5 mm; Weight: 552.1 g

81.AM.84.13

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Inside, a gilt floral scroll framed by two gilt wave meanders running in the same direction. The tendril suggests an attribution to the third group of treasure I and a date in the first century B.C. The wave meanders set off from the tendril by a narrow silver strip. For the flower types, see chart. The frieze is gilded all over. Beneath the lip there is a gilt wave meander. Exterior undecorated. Although contemporaneous with the third group from treasure I according to its inscription (see chart), the shallow profile of no. 12 does not entirely follow the bulging type represented by nos. 14–16.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 81 mm; Height: 14 mm. An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. on the outside beneath the lip: *zwzyn* 136

For the meaning of “*zwzyn*,” see no. 2 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.0 grams (552.1:136).

CONDITION: On the outside, the surface is rough in some places. Blackish brown discoloration on the outside and also, but to a more limited extent, on the inside. The plate was most likely deposited upside down. The gilding has flaked off in most of these places. About a third of the surface of the lip is severely damaged.

DATE: First century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pfrommer, *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), p. 17, fig. 12A (detail; dated too early).





## 14 Bowl with Tendril Frieze

Silver; Diameter: 225–258 mm; Height: 79 mm; Thickness: 0.7 mm; at the lip, 3.5 mm; Weight: 681.4 g  
81.AM.84.14

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a gilt flower tendril framed by two wave meanders running in opposite directions. The tendril suggests an attribution to the third group of treasure I and a date in the first century B.C. The meanders are set off from the scroll by means of narrow, silver strips. For the flower types, see chart. The scroll is gilded all over. Gilt wave meander below the lip. Exterior undecorated. The rather bulging profile of the vessel is repeated by nos. 2, 15, and 16.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 125 mm; Height: 11 mm. An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. below the rim: *bd* (followed by an indecipherable Iranian personal name) *zwzyn 190*

The meaning of “*bd*” is “has made”; thus the Iranian name must be interpreted as the name of the silversmith. For the meaning of “*zwzyn*,” see no 2. above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 3.5 grams (681.4:190).

CONDITION: Exterior surface damaged, traces of blackish discoloration (cf. no. 13). Interior nearly undamaged, gilding very well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.







## 15 Bowl with Tendril Frieze

Silver; Diameter: 233–235 mm; Height: 61 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 3 mm; Weight: 614.5 g  
81.AM.84.15

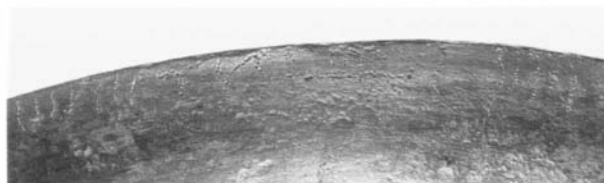
DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a gilt flower tendril frieze, framed by two gilt wave meanders running in the same direction. The latter are set off from the scroll by means of narrow silver strips. The tendril suggests an attribution to the third group of treasure I and a date in the first century B.C. For the flower types, see chart. The frieze is gilded all over. Circular lines are to be found in some of the gilt frieze parts of the ornament, evidently a rejected first outline for the frieze parts of the ornament. Beneath the lip there is a gilt wave meander. Exterior undecorated. The rather bulging profile of the vessel is repeated by nos. 2, 14, and 16.

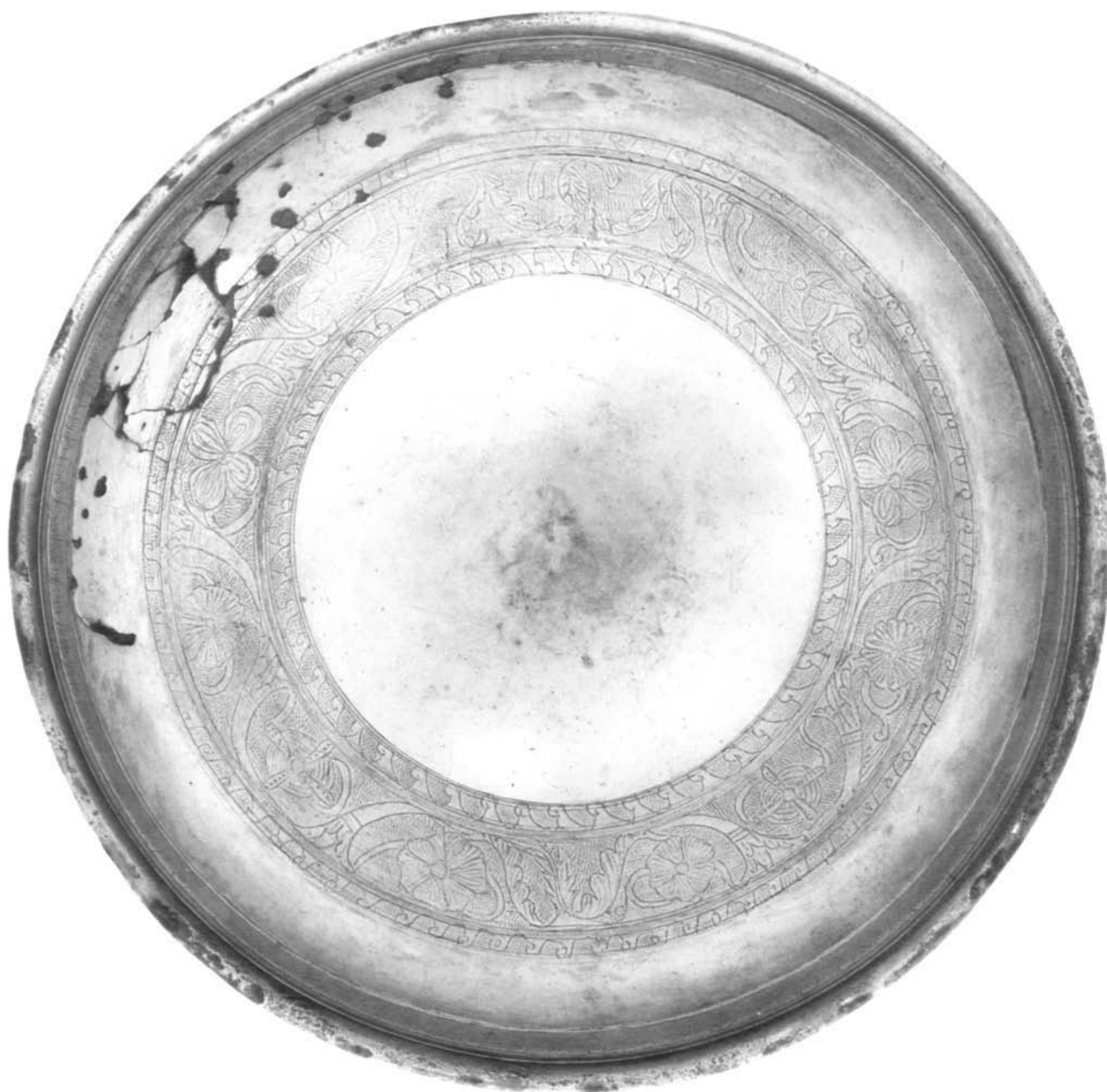
INSCRIPTION: Length: 102 mm; Height: 10 mm. An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. on the outside beneath the rim: *zwzyn 157*

For the meaning of “*zwzyn*,” see no. 2 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 3.9 grams (614.5:157).

CONDITION: One part of the side was broken and has been restored. The lip is fully preserved, though it is damaged in part of the surface. The interior, however, is well preserved, including the gilding.

DATE: First century B.C.





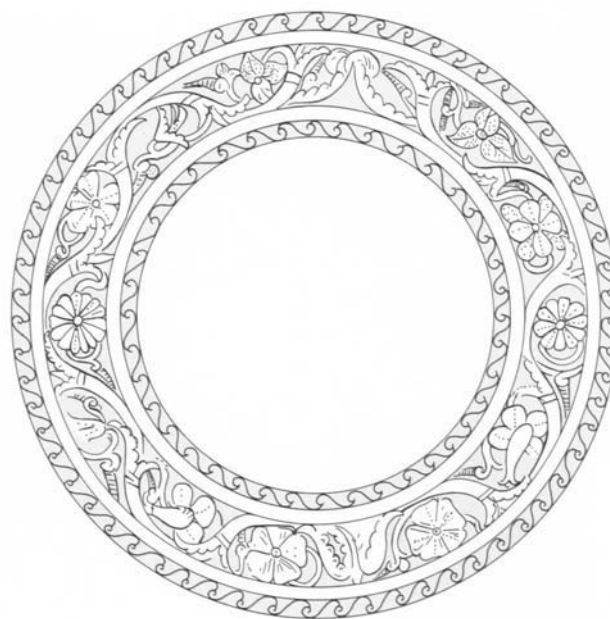
## 16 *Bowl with Tendril Frieze*

Silver; Preserved diameter: 185–191 mm; Preserved height: 47 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; Weight: 201.2 g  
81.AM.84.16

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a gilt floral tendril frieze framed by two wave meanders running in the same direction and set off from the scroll by narrow silver strips. The tendril places the bowl in the third group of treasure I and suggests a date in the first century B.C. For the flower types, see chart. The frieze is gilded all over. Above the tendril there is another gilt wave meander. Exterior undecorated. The preserved lower parts of the damaged bowl show a rather bulging profile, which can be compared with other vessels in the third group of treasure I (nos. 2, 14, 15; see chart).

CONDITION: Lip completely lost, cracks in the sides. Only a few traces of the upper wave meander are preserved. Blackish discoloration of the exterior surface, suggesting that the vessel was deposited upside down. Gilding only partially preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.





## 17 Bowl with Trefoil Garland

Silver; Former diameter and height unknown; Thickness: 0.7 mm; at the lip, 4.5 mm; Weight: 537.7 g  
81.AM.84.17

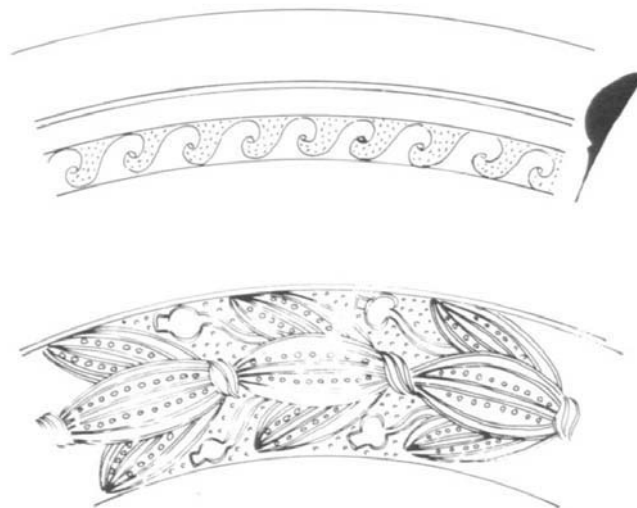
DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a bound and gilt trefoil garland (see no. 1). Beneath the lip runs a gilt wave meander. Exterior is left undecorated on the parts preserved.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 85 mm; Height: 10 mm. An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. on the outside beneath the rim: *zwzyn 206*

For the meaning of "zwzyn," see no. 2 above. Given that the Parthian drachma weighed between 3.7 and 4.3 grams, the weight of 206 given here means that the undamaged bowl weighed between 762 and 886 grams.

CONDITION: Lip fully preserved but bent completely out of shape. Only about half the wave meander and about 12 centimeters of the garland preserved. Gilding partially missing. Exterior more highly polished than the inside.

DATE: First century B.C.







## 18 Bowl

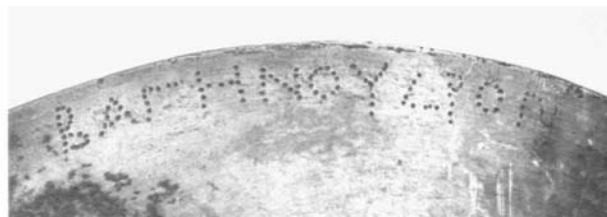
Silver; Diameter: 181–183 mm; Height: 56 mm; Thickness: 0.75 mm; at the lip, 3 mm; Weight: 297.4 g  
81.AM.84.18

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver.

INSCRIPTION: Greek inscription on the outside below the lip giving what is possibly a former owner's name: ΒΑΓΗΝΟΥ. The second part of the inscription possibly gives a weight: 173.

CONDITION: Crack in the side, edges pushed outward. About a fourth of the exterior covered by blackish brown discoloration. Interior even more strongly discolored.

DATE: Second or first century B.C.



### 19 *Bowl with Handle and Bird Emblem*

Silver; Diameter: 126 mm; Height: 36 mm; Thickness: 0.3 mm; at the lip, 2 mm; Weight: 97.9 g

81.AM.84.25

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt, handles attached with rivets. On the inside an engraved image of a bird framed by a zigzag band. Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Very well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



## 20 *Bowl*

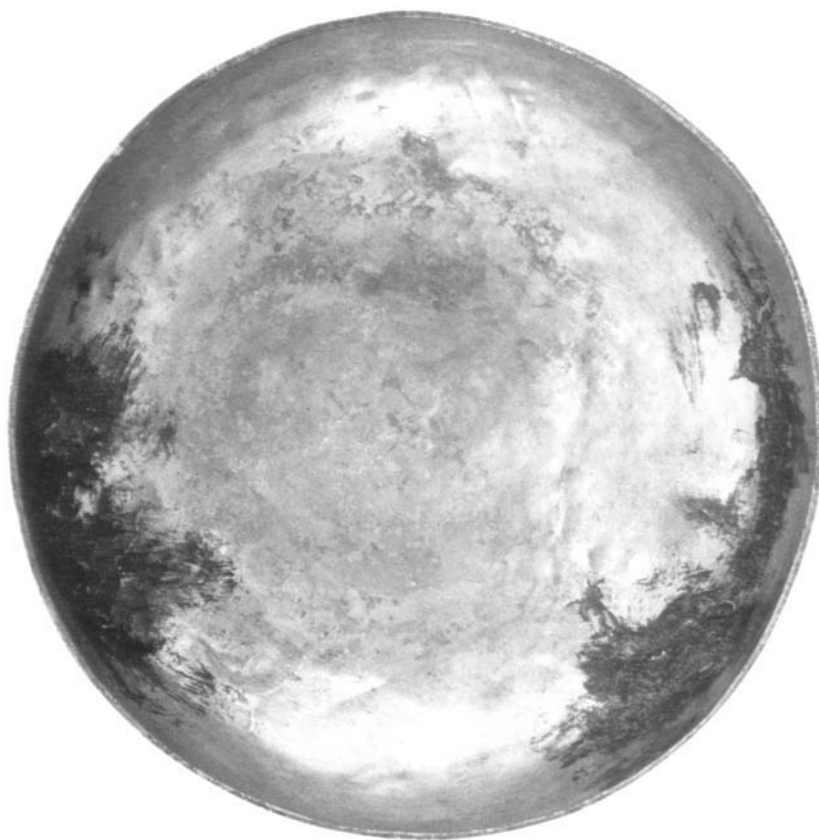
Silver; Diameter: 113–115 mm; Height: 29 mm; Thickness: about 0.3 mm; at the lip, 1.5 mm; Weight: 73.4 g  
81.AM.84.19

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 26 mm; Height: 4 mm. An indecipherable Iranian inscription on the outside beneath the rim.

CONDITION: Cracks in the sides, also dents. The original surface partially destroyed. Blackish discoloration in some places along the cracks.

DATE: Sasanian?



## 21 *Bowl*

Silver; Diameter: 117–119 mm; Height: 45 mm; Thickness: about 0.5 mm; at the lip, 2.5 mm; Weight: 113.9 g  
81.AM.84.20

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver.

CONDITION: Well preserved, only a few small dents.  
Part of the exterior shows dark discolorations.

DATE: Second or first century B.C.?



## 22 *Conical Cup*

Silver; Diameter: 194 mm; Height: 84 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 4 mm; Weight: 521.6 g

81.AM.84.21

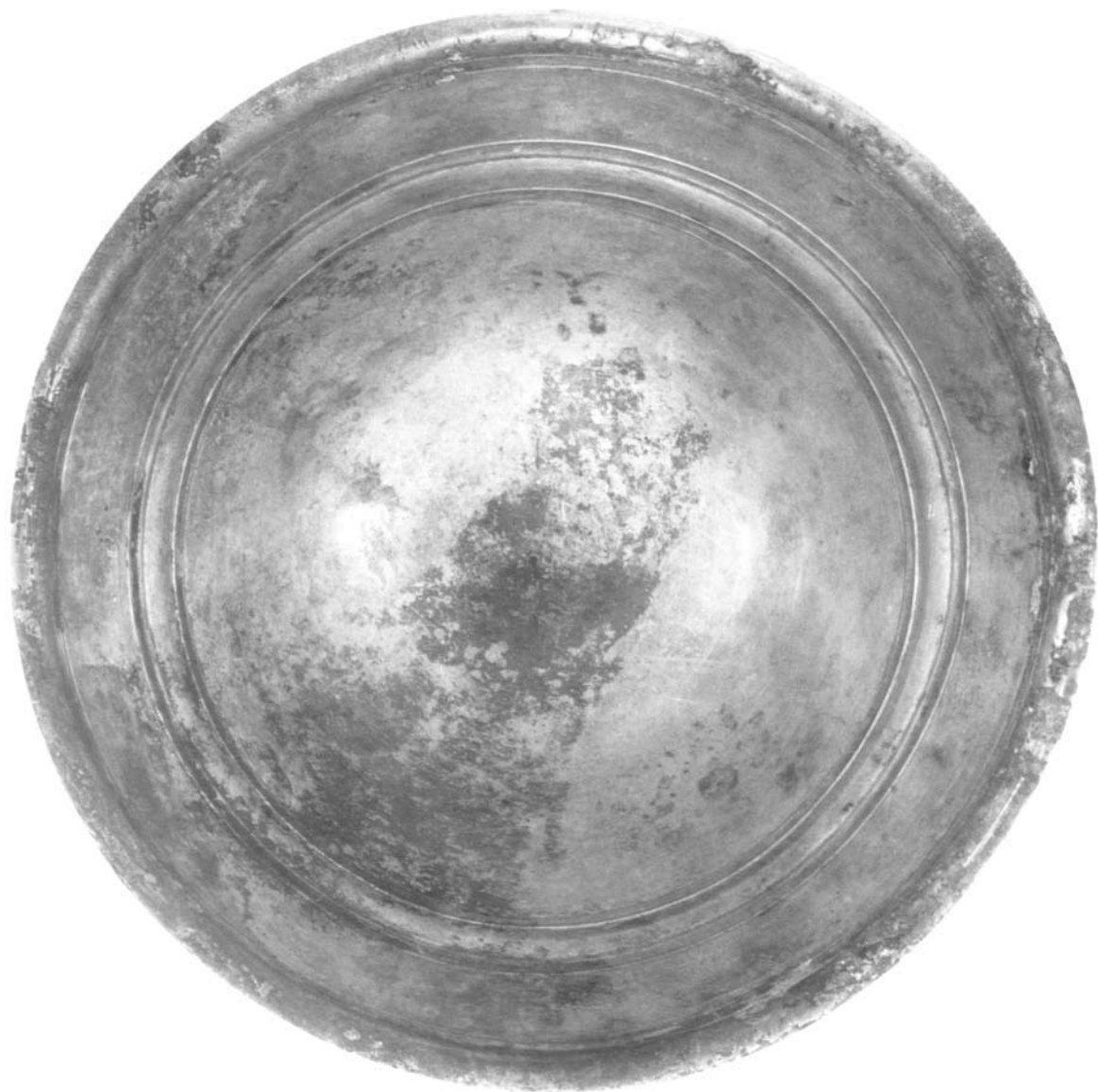
DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, originally parcel-gilt. On the inside, traces of gilding on the molding. A vessel of this size lay originally on top of bowl no. 3 and a third vessel was placed on cup no. 22.

INSCRIPTION: Length: 27 mm; Height: 9 mm. On the outside beneath the rim a Greek monogram (owner's mark?) and an indication of weight: 129. Given that the Parthian standard of weight (drachma) was about 4 grams, this number indicates a Near Eastern provenance.

CONDITION: Blackish discoloration both inside and out. The cup lay with the opening facing downward since traces of discoloration indicate that a vessel about 102 millimeters in diameter originally lay upside down on the rounded base. The smaller vessel most probably slid down later since a corrosive liquid partially destroyed the surface in the center of the rounded base on the outside. The blackish discoloration was partially dissolved by this liquid. There are calcareous deposits all over the outside of the cup. The vessel therefore could not have lain directly in the ground.

DATE: Second century B.C., perhaps first half.





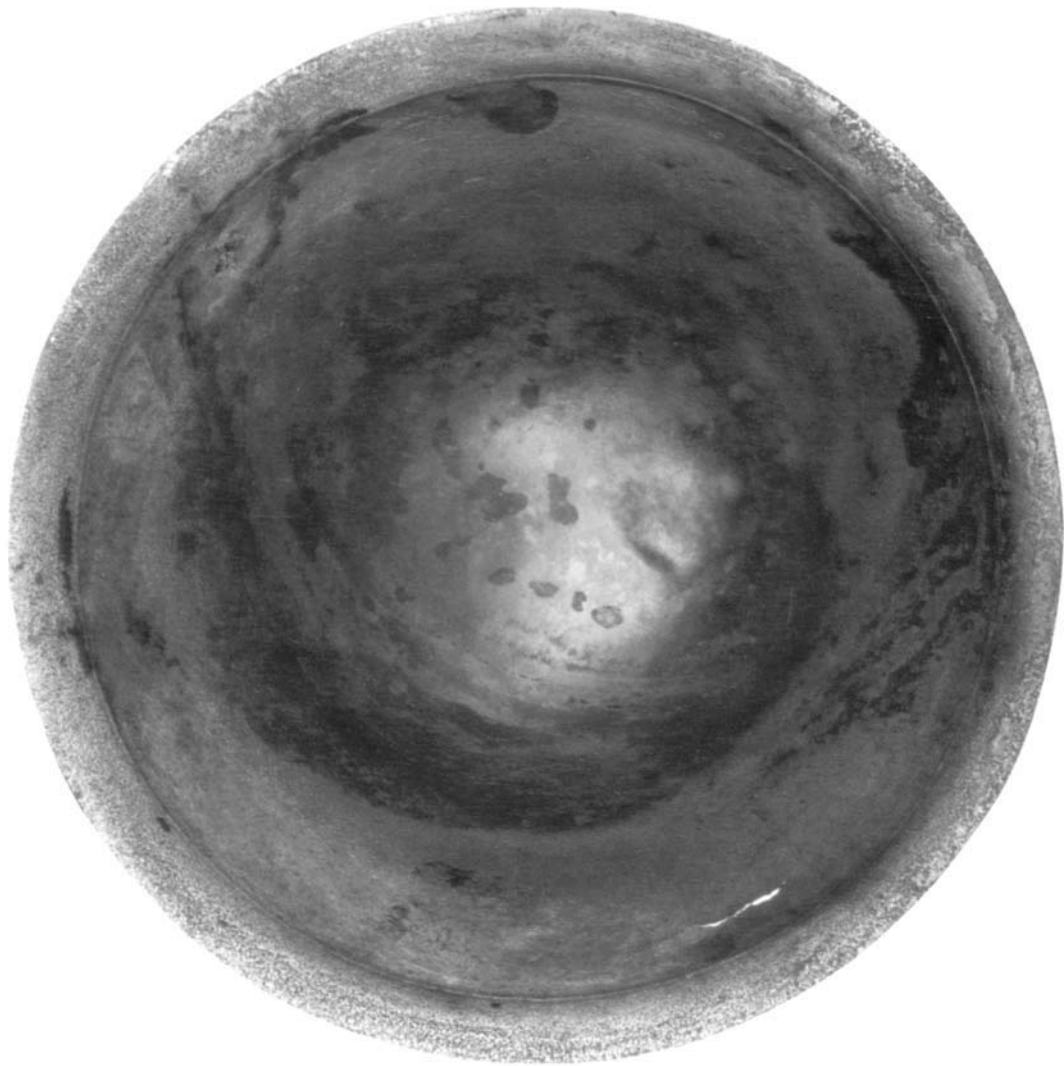
### 23 *Conical Cup*

Silver; Diameter: 167–168 mm; Height: 82 mm; Thickness: about 0.3 mm; at the lip, 4 mm; Weight: 362.4 g  
81.AM.84.22

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver.

CONDITION: Surface in part badly damaged. About a third of the body of the vessel lay, at least for a time, in water or wet soil. In this area, the surface and especially the mouth are very heavily damaged.

DATE: Later second or first century B.C.





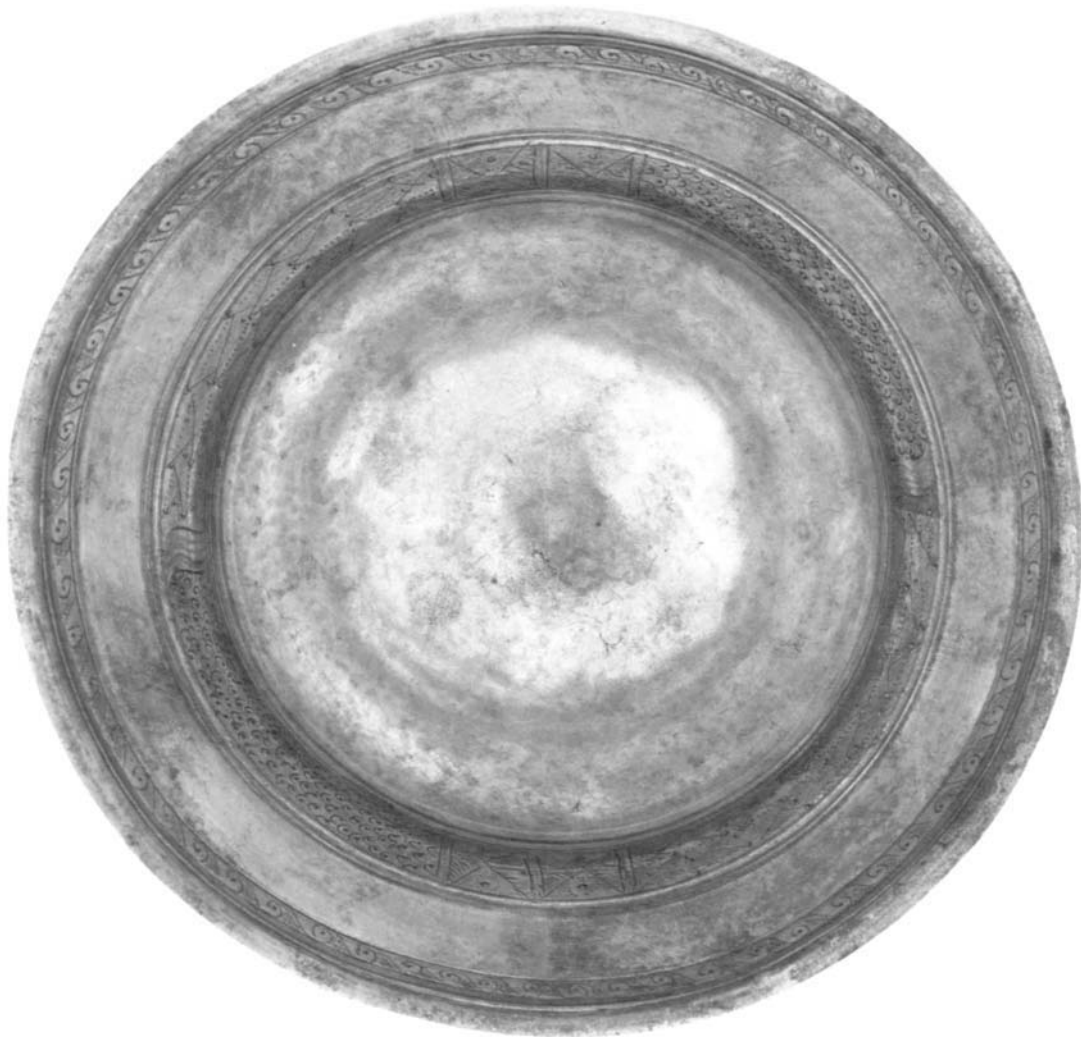
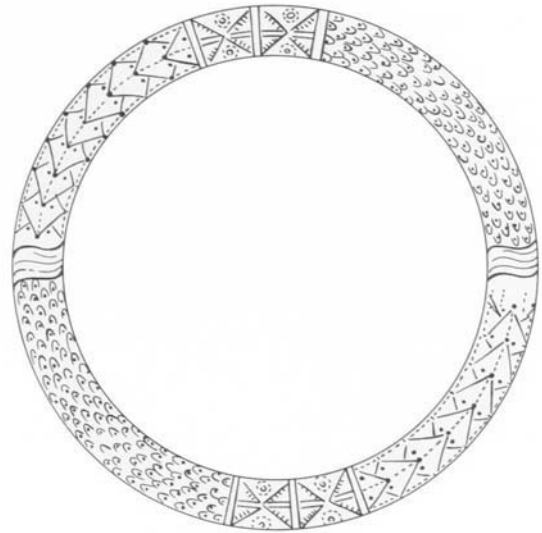
## 24 *Conical Cup*

Silver; Diameter: 157–163 mm; Height: 68 mm; Thickness: 0.5 mm; at the lip, 2 mm; Weight: 227.5 g  
81.AM.84.23

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. On the inside a gilt belted garland is held together additionally by a fillet, a decoration that finds a parallel among Near Eastern silver and suggests an eastern workshop. Beneath the rim a gilt wave meander. Exterior undecorated.

CONDITION: Wall somewhat dented but well preserved otherwise, including the gilding.

DATE: Second century B.C., possibly first half.



## 25 *Agate Cup*

Agate; Height: 98 mm; Diameter: at the top, 69 mm; at the widest part of the rim, 73 mm; Diameter of the ring base: 53 mm; Weight: 430.4 g

81.AM.91

DESCRIPTION: Made from two parts, the ring base and the bottom being separate from the walls. Previously most likely held together by four rivets but only three

holes are preserved since part of the base is missing. The vessel is relatively well polished.

CONDITION: The separate parts have been glued together in modern times.

DATE: Hellenistic?



26 *Prometopidion or Forehead*  
*Ornament from a Horse Trapping of*  
*Greek-Hellenistic Type*

Silver; Length: 255 mm; Widest point (reconstruction): 93 mm; Width: top, 30 mm; bottom, 31 mm; Weight: can no longer be determined due to restoration and mounting on a plastic base.

81.AM.89

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver. The relief was originally held on a setting. Holes (diameter: 0.5 mm) for rivets and the impression made by the fold of the setting are still visible. At the bottom are two larger rivet holes made for repairs (diameter: 2.5 mm). In the center is a siren of the type found on Classical (fifth century B.C.) handle attachments on metal vessels. Above that in a field framed by an astragal is a sphinx of Achaemenid type. Beneath the siren is an eagle attacking a stag, a motif clearly derived from the nomadic-central Asian animal style. Although the type of the prometopidion is derived from Greek-Hellenistic prototypes, the choice of themes is in keeping with nomadic-Parthian ideas and suggests a non-Greek Parthian patron. The blend of both traditions narrows the location of the workshop most likely to Hellenized Iran.

CONDITION: Several cracks and lost parts, among them the right wing of the siren.

DATE: Late third or second century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: V. Heermann-Trömel, *AmIran* 21 (1988), p. 142, pl. 43.2.



27–29 *Three Medallions from a Set of  
Harness of Greek Type*

Silver; Diameter: 58 mm; Height: 65 mm; Thickness of the metal: about 2.5 mm; Weight of the complete set: 11.1 g 81.AM.85.1–.3

DESCRIPTION: Each medallion raised from a single sheet of silver. The medallions served as ornaments for the cross straps of a harness at the horse's head and possibly belonged to the prometopidion (no. 26). The harness type belongs entirely to the Greek repertoire. The original set must have had at least one, possibly three more pieces. The harness type was known in Hellenized central Asia. The fragile medallions must have originally been fastened in fittings. The medallions depict female heads with elaborate hairdos with curls that hang down to the shoulders. The bust is indicated on nos. 27 and 29. The heads bear earrings with pyramid-shaped pendants, misunderstood and depicted as curls on nos. 28 and 29. The type of earrings for the rather provincial medallions points to a Greek original of the middle of the third century. No. 27 still has the rivet holes that were made for repairs.

CONDITION: No. 29 is fully preserved. A large part of the edge of no. 28 is missing. No. 27 is considerably bent and there are pieces missing from the edge.

DATE: Late third or second century B.C.



30, 31 *Pair of Parthian Phalerae with  
Relief Decoration of an  
Attacking Animal Group  
(Harness Ornaments)*

Silver; Diameter: no. 30, 150 mm; no. 31, 152 mm;  
Height: 22 mm; Thickness of the metal: 3 mm; Weight:  
no. 30, 137.3 g; no. 31, 140.3 g (including plastic filling)  
81.AM.87.3-4

DESCRIPTION: Each piece raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. This type of three-looped phalera came into use not earlier than in the late third century. Although both bear attacking animal groups in Greek style, these three-looped phalerae belong to a central Asian harness type that was used in the second and first centuries B.C. especially by peoples of central Asiatic origins such as the Parthians in Iran, the Sarmatians in the steppes north of the Black Sea, or even the Kushans in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the first centuries of the Christian era. As in the case of the prometopidion (no. 26), the blend of traditions—Greek and central Asiatic—speaks in favor of a workshop in Hellenized Parthian Iran. On the back of each piece there are three loops up to 45 millimeters long for the straps of the harness. A single strap went upward from the horizontal chest strap of the horse. The phalerae were attached in front of the saddle. For the strap arrangement, see nos. 34, 35.

The decoration is a group scene, showing a lion attacking a stag that has collapsed on the ground; on one, the lion is springing to the right, on the other to the left. The eyes of the stag were originally inlaid with stones. Small details such as the eyes of the stags or the elongated hooves echo the nomadic animal style. The image is framed by a belted garland. The groups with attacking animals, the garlands, and the strips along the edges are gilded.

CONDITION: Well preserved, including the gilding. Metal slightly torn. The relief group is somewhat dented on no. 31. The medallions have been filled from behind with plastic to give them greater stability.

DATE: Second century B.C.



Back view (no. 30), reduced



Back view (no. 31), reduced



Front view, reduced







32, 33 *Pair of Parthian Phalerae with  
Relief Decoration of an  
Attacking Animal Group  
(Harness Ornaments)*

Silver; Diameter: 126 mm; Height: 9 mm; Thickness of the metal: 3 mm; Weight: no. 32, 98 g; no. 33, 104 g  
81.AM.87.1-2

DESCRIPTION: Each piece raised from a single sheet of silver, front side gilded. On the back there were originally three loops of up to 45 millimeters for the straps of the harness; the loops were attached with rivets. For the type and the way of attachment, see nos. 30, 31. Both are decorated with a lion attacking a stag, on one piece oriented toward the left, on the other toward the right. Three lizards are between the legs of the stag. The pieces are much more provincial than the first pair (nos. 30, 31) and composition and details point again to a workshop of Hellenized Parthian Iran. The surface of the phalerae is dotted without much regard to differentiating between the bodies of the animals and the background. The front is completely gilded.

CONDITION: The surface, including the gilding, is well preserved. In front of the chest of the stag on no. 33 there are cracks in the metal. On no. 32, only one of the loops on the back is preserved.

DATE: Second century B.C.



Back view (no. 32), reduced



Back view (no. 33), reduced





34, 35 *Pair of Parthian Phalerae in the  
Form of Omphalos Bowls*  
(Harness Ornaments)

Silver; Diameter: 172 mm; Height: 14 mm; Thickness  
of the metal: 3 mm; Weight: no. 34, 153.9 g; no. 35,  
167.0 g  
81.AM.86.2-1

DESCRIPTION: Each piece raised from a single sheet of  
silver. The phalerae follow phialai mesomphaloi of  
Greek type. Omphaloi in the middle of the disks (26×7  
millimeters). The molded rims imitate perhaps vessels  
with molded rims. There were originally three bronze  
loops of about 60 millimeters riveted onto the backs.  
The striped discolorations of about 12 to 15 millimeters  
in width on the back of no. 34 show that the phalerae  
were buried with the straps of the harness. In addition,  
the discoloration indicates how the straps were origi-  
nally arranged. A single strap went upward from the  
horizontal chest strap. The phalerae were attached in  
front of the saddle (see nos. 30, 31).

CONDITION: In an excellent state of preservation; how-  
ever, all the loops (except one on no. 34) are lost.

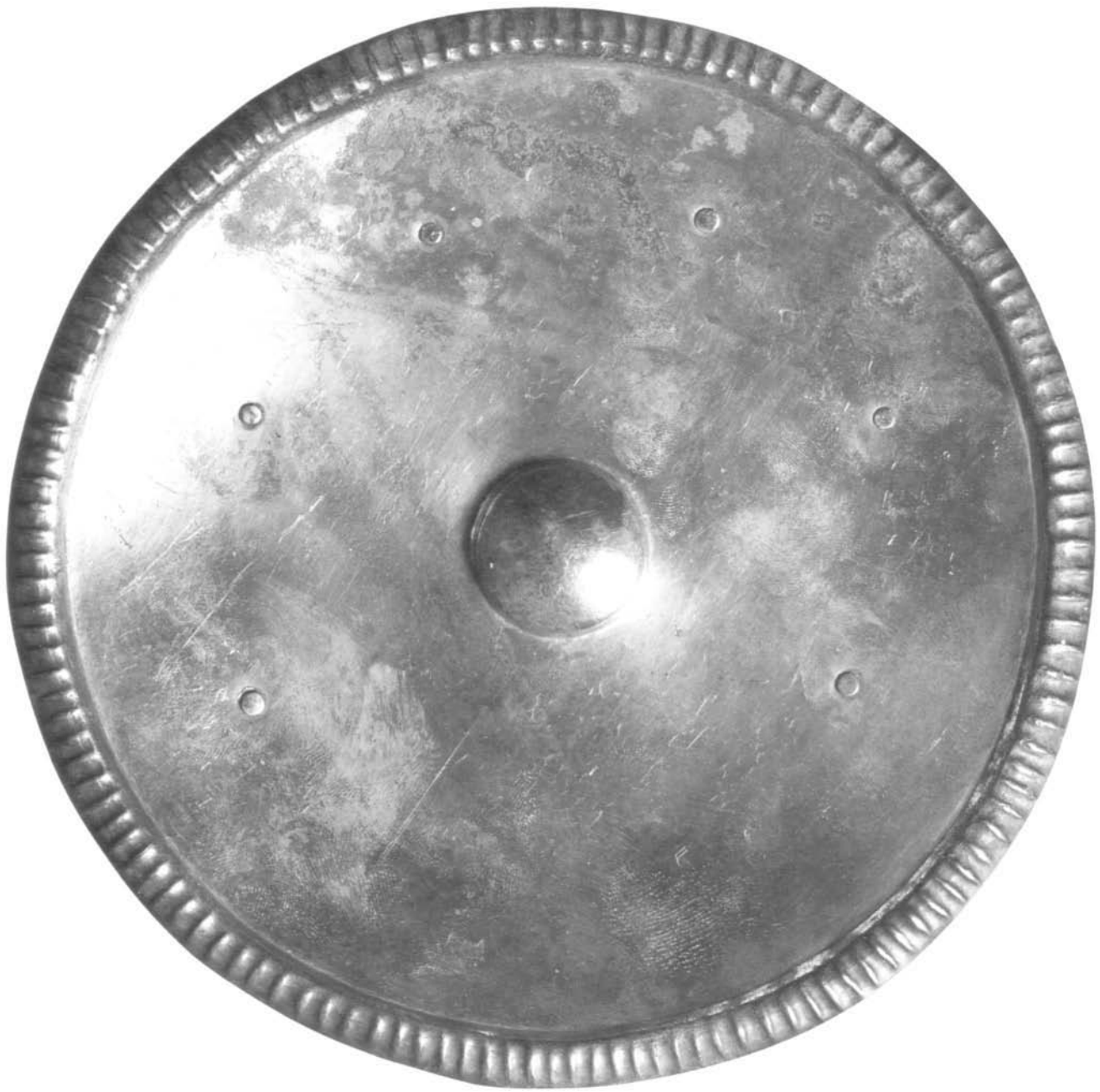
DATE: Second century B.C.

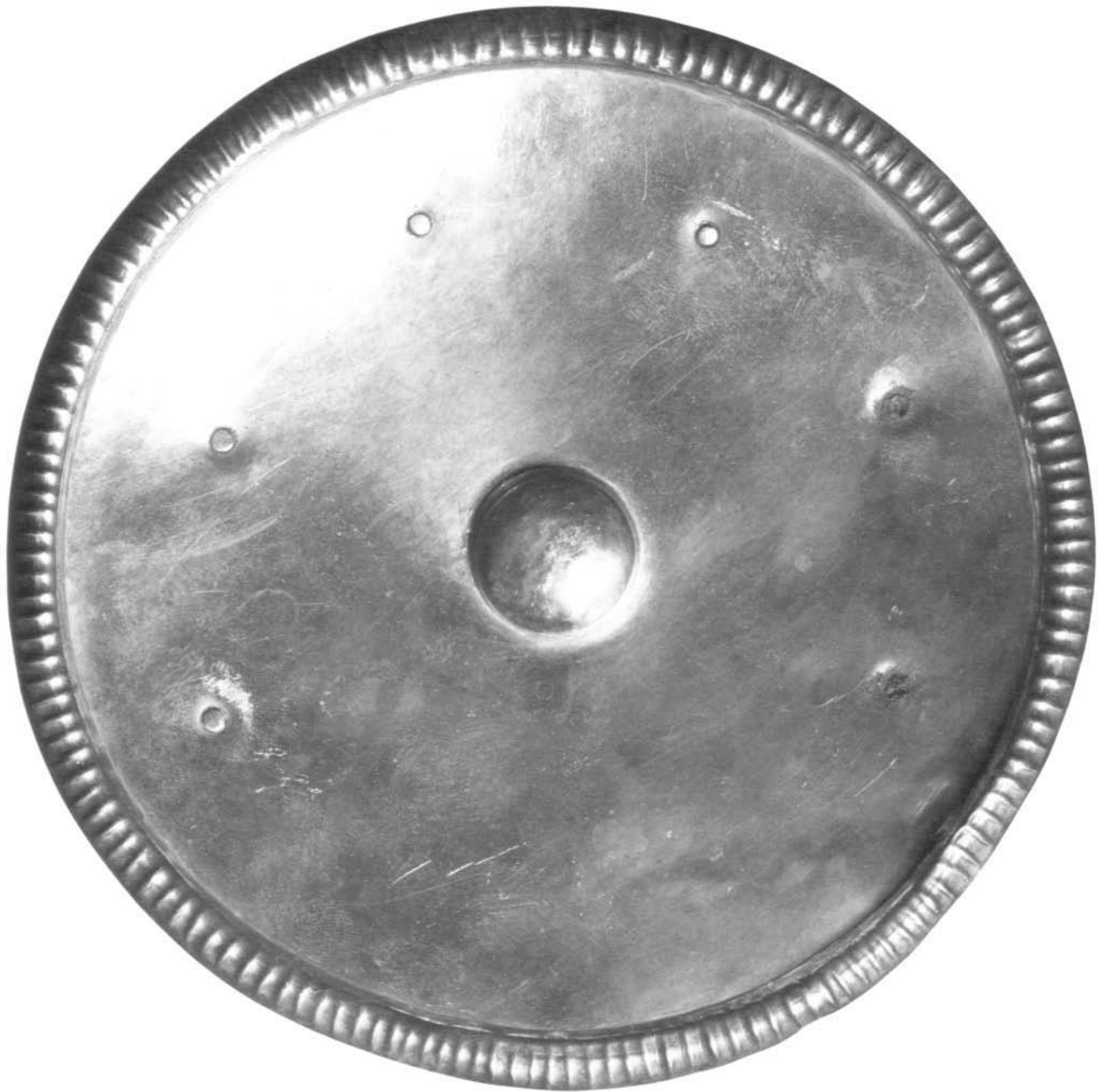


Back view (no. 35), reduced



Back view (no. 34), reduced





36 *Parthian Phalera (Harness Ornament)*

Bronze; Diameter: 119 mm; Height: 6.5 mm; Weight: 97.0 g  
81.AC.88

DESCRIPTION: Raised from sheet bronze. Raised rim. Three loops, up to 51 millimeters in length, on the back of the piece for the straps of the harness. For the way the piece was attached, see nos. 30, 31. Close parallels are known from Hellenized central Asia.

CONDITION: Ancient surface lost in many places but all of the loops are preserved. The underside of the rim is filled with organic material.

DATE: Second century B.C.



Back view, reduced





### 37 *Small Relief Bust of a Woman*

Silver; Height of the bust: 48 mm; Width at the bottom: 43 mm; Weight: 153 g

81.AM.95

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Small bust of a woman with a high, gilt stephane decorated with a tendril. The frontality as well as details of the dress speak for a date in the second century. The strict frontality and symmetry of the bust seem to be forerunners of similar trends in Near Eastern sculpture of Imperial date. The hair is gilded, parted, and pulled back from the face. The woman is wearing a crepe chiton with a wide border. Her mantle is pulled up over the back of her head and hangs down in the front over her shoulders. The turned border of the mantle is gilded, indicating that the inside of the fabric is supposed to be a different color than the outside.

CONDITION: Well preserved, including the gilding. The face is dented, suggesting a slight turn to the side. The reverse of the piece is partially covered with a blackish coating.

DATE: Second century B.C., probably first half of the century.



### 38 *Torque*

Gold; Diameter: about 190 mm; Diameter of the metal:  
4–18 mm; Weight: 378.4 g

8I.AM.90

DESCRIPTION: Five-sided gold torque with a thick ridge. Eyes at both ends, probably originally used for attaching a pendant. Similar torques are documented in Parthian sculpture. Vertical molding and a prismlike element in front of the eyes. The torque could be the forerunner of ridged torques and bracelets of the first century A.D. in the Afghan-Pakistani area.

CONDITION: The torque has been bent apart with force and then bent back into shape. Except for the damage that resulted from this, the piece is excellently preserved.

DATE: Second or first century B.C.



### 39 *Animal-Head Bracelet, Oriental Type with Heads of Lionesses*

Gold; Diameter: 77 mm; Thickness of the metal ring: 5.5 mm; Weight: 78.1 g  
81.AM.94

DESCRIPTION: The type of the animal-head bracelet is already known with slightly different details in pre-Hellenistic times but can be traced down to the end of the Hellenistic period in the Hellenized Near East.

CONDITION: Deep nick in one place on the bracelet, otherwise well preserved.

DATE: Second century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 100, 297, n. 859, TA 92, fig. 16.20.



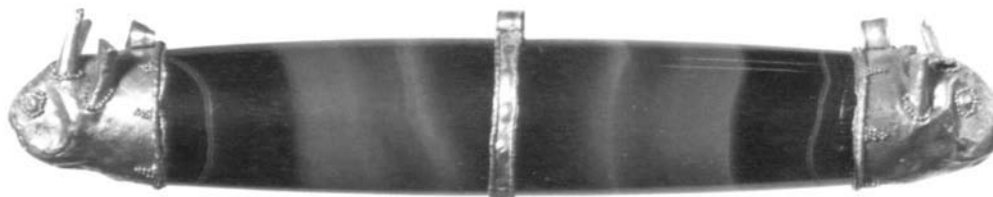
### 40 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 132 mm; Diameter: middle, 21.5 mm; ends, 19 mm; Weight: 92 g  
81.AN.92.2

DESCRIPTION: Gold end cuffs in the form of simple animal heads made of raised gold sheet. Parallels from Syria and northwestern Iran point to a Near Eastern workshop. The edges of the cuffs are decorated with a twisted gold wire. Ears and horns of the heads have been made separately and attached. The eyes are raised and outlined with a row of granulation. The gold central cuff is edged with a twisted gold wire and with chased bosses.

CONDITION: Fully preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



#### 41 *Pendant for a Chain*

Glass; Length: 82 mm; Diameter: 13 and 14 mm;  
Weight: 26.3 g

81.AN.92.1

DESCRIPTION: Pendant in form of a "Kohl tube" with gold end cuffs, gold center cuff with a double eye. The tube was reused for the pendant. The outer cuffs have end plates. Decorated with S-shaped scrolls and triangles of granulation. The edges of the cuff in the middle are decorated with twisted gold wire.

CONDITION: Completely preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

#### 42 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 118 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 20 and 17 mm; at the ends, 16 and 17 mm; Weight: 78.4 g

81.AN.92.3

DESCRIPTION: The end cuffs are of gold sheet and have end plates. Decorated with gold wire tongues and meandering S-spirals, which are soldered on. The cuffs are fastened to the stone with metal pins. The center cuff originally had three stone inlays, but only one orange stone is preserved.

CONDITION: Except for the two missing stone inlays, well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 43 *Pendant for a Chain*

Black stone; Length: 90 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 12.5 mm; at the ends, 9 mm; Weight: 35.4 g

81.AN.92.4

DESCRIPTION: End cuffs of gold sheet without end plates. Edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. The center cuff was evidently added later and has a simple, chased, dotted decoration on the edges and a boss-shaped center ornament. The three eyes are on top of flat eyes of the same type, probably an ancient pastiche.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

### 44 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 117 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 16 mm; at the ends, 15 mm; Weight: 59.4 g

81.AN.92.5

DESCRIPTION: End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates. Both the end cuffs and the center one edged with tongues made of gold wire. The end cuffs are fastened to the stone with metal pins.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



45 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 104 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 14 mm; at the ends, 13 mm; Weight: 38.7 g

81.AN.92.6

DESCRIPTION: Cuffs as on no. 44 and decorated in like fashion except that there are gold wire circles soldered to the end cuffs, which may originally have been settings for gem stones, as is the case with no. 42.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

46 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 92 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 33 mm; at the ends, 24 and 25 mm; Weight: 157.9 g

81.AN.92.7

DESCRIPTION: End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates, edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



47 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 65 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 22 mm; at the ends, 10 mm; Weight: 62.8 g

81.AN.92.8

DESCRIPTION: Decorated in same fashion as no. 46.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

48 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 98 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 25 mm and 12 mm; at the ends, 17 and 12 mm; Weight:

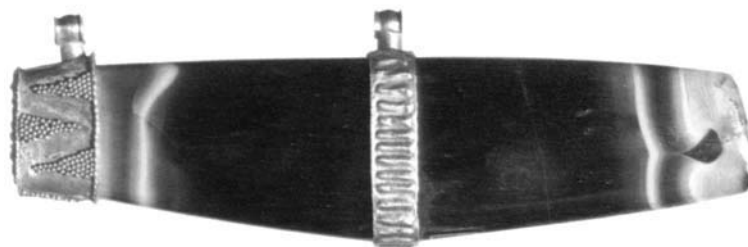
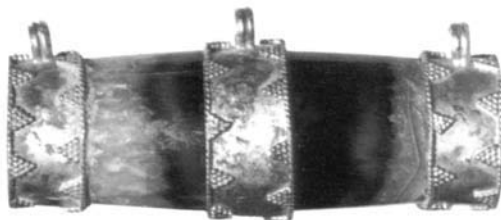
57.1 g

81.AN.92.9

DESCRIPTION: Stone is oval in cross section. End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates, edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. Center cuff simply worked, decorated with chased fluting. The center cuff was probably substituted later. The eyes of the cuffs, however, are of a similar type as on no. 43; they are soldered onto small gold sheet rings.

CONDITION: One outer cuff is missing, otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.





#### 49 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 88 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 25.5 and 10 mm; at the ends, 15 and 10 mm; Weight: 34.8 g

81.AN.92.10

DESCRIPTION: Stone is oval in cross section. End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates. Cuffs attached to the stone with metal pins. Outer cuffs edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. The gold cuff in the middle is of a different type and had an edge of beaded gold wire.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

#### 50 *Pendant for a Chain*

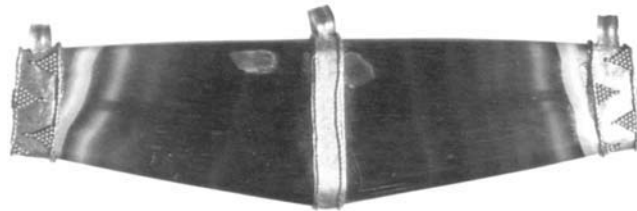
Agate; Length: 71 mm; at the bottom, 75.5 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 26 and 14 mm; at the ends, 19×14 mm and 18×14 mm; Weight: 54.0 g

81.AN.92.11

DESCRIPTION: Stone is oval in cross section. End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates. End and center cuffs edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. The end cuffs do not fit on the stone, raising the question of whether they might have been added in modern times.

CONDITION: Well preserved, but it is not completely certain that the elements belong together.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 51 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 68 mm; at the bottom, 74 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 27 and 18 mm; at the ends, 12 and 18 mm; at the added cuff, 16 and 18 mm; Weight: 53.6 g

81.AN.92.12

DESCRIPTION: Two different cuff types of gold sheet. One cuff has an end plate and an eye. Edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. Attached to the stone with metal pins. The second cuff has no end plate and the eye is missing. Edged with beaded gold wire and decorated with tongues of gold wire and with a few larger, drop-shaped elements. The second cuff was unquestionably worked for a stone of the type used here. For the type of ornament, see no. 53. The repair was possibly carried out in antiquity.

CONDITION: The eye and possibly an end plate are missing from the later cuff.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

### 52 *Pendant for a Chain*

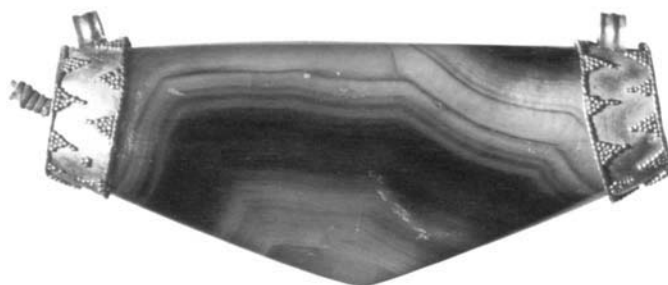
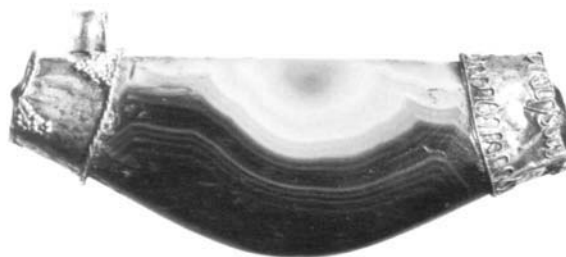
Agate; Length: 89 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 36 and 19 mm; at the ends, 19 × 19 mm; Weight: 92.5 g

81.AN.92.13

DESCRIPTION: Stone is irregular in cross section. End cuffs of gold sheet with end plates. Cuffs attached to stone by means of metal pins; protruding wire spiral on one side. Cuffs edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation.

CONDITION: Well preserved. It can no longer be determined whether the wire spiral originally ended in an eye.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 53 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 71 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 21 mm; at the ends, 16.5 mm; Weight: 48.5 g

8I.AN.92.14

DESCRIPTION: End cuffs of gold sheets with end plates, attached to stone by means of metal pins. One cuff is edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation. The second cuff corresponds in type to the second cuff on no. 51, with beaded gold wire around the edge and drop-shaped ornaments as well as gold wire tongues. We can assume that this is also a replacement for a missing cuff.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 54 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 73 mm; Diameter (oval): in the middle, 17 and 13 mm; at the ends, 13 and 10 mm; Weight: 25.1 g

8I.AN.92.15

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs with end plates, attached to the stone by means of metal pins. The cuffs are edged with twisted gold wire and decorated with triangles of granulation.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 55 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 45 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 17 mm; at the ends, 15 mm; Weight: 23.8 g

8I.AN.92.16

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs as on no. 52.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 56 *Pendant for a Chain*

Rock crystal; Length: 39 mm; Diameter: 15.5 mm;  
Weight: 9.9 g

8I.AN.92.17

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs as on no. 52. The rock crystal is pierced all the way through from the side. The gold sheet end plates are pierced, but the pins are not preserved. The large diameter of the hole in the crystal speaks for its having been strung originally and perhaps only reused with the cuffs.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 57 *Pendant for a Chain*

Agate; Length: 35 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 12 mm; at the ends, 10 mm; Weight: 10.1 g

8I.AN.92.18

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs as on no. 52.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 58 *Pendant for a Chain*

Slate with coarser inclusions; Length: 35 mm; Diameter: 8 mm; Weight: 7.8 g

8I.AN.92.19

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs with end plates. Edged with simple gold wire. Decorated with gold wire tongues that have been soldered on in the same fashion as on the replacement cuff on no. 53.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 59 *Pendant for a Chain*

Slate; Length: 38 mm; Diameter: 8 mm; of the stone, 6.5 mm; Weight: 6.9 g

81.AN.92.20

DESCRIPTION: Stone cut in eight facets. Gold-sheet cuffs as on no. 58.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 60 *Pendant*

Agate; Length: 52 mm; Diameter (oval): 15 and 8.5 mm; Weight: 14.9 g

81.AN.92.21

DESCRIPTION: Gold-sheet cuffs with end plates, edged with row of beads in granulation. The gold sheet backing the stone decorated with granulated rows of beads, granulated triangles, and gold wire. Holes for attaching eyes on the small sides.

CONDITION: The eyes necessary for hanging the pendant are lost. Otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.?



### 61 *Pendant*

Length: 22 mm; Diameter: 9 mm; Weight: 3.9 g

81.AN.92.23

DESCRIPTION: Strung on gold wire which has eyes at both ends.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.



### 62 Pendant

Agate; Length: 59 mm; Diameter: 10.5 mm; Weight:  
13.2 g  
81.AN.92.24

DESCRIPTION: Strung on bronze wire with eyes at both ends.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.?



### 63 Bead

Amethyst; Length: 36 mm; Diameter: 18 mm; Weight:  
19.8 g  
81.AN.92.22

DESCRIPTION: Faceted bead. Pierced lengthwise.

CONDITION: Minor chips.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.?



### 64 Bead

Agate; Length: 63 mm; Diameter: in the middle, 21 mm; at the ends, 8 mm; Weight: 29.4 g  
81.AN.92.25

DESCRIPTION: Pierced lengthwise. Diameter of the hole about 1.5 millimeters.

CONDITION: Chips on the small sides.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.?



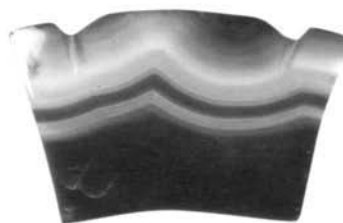
### 65 Pendant

Agate; Length: 46 mm; Height: 29 mm; Thickness: 6.5 mm; Weight: 15 g  
81.AN.92.26

DESCRIPTION: Pierced horizontally.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.?



## TREASURE II

### 66 *Lion Rhyton*

Silver; Height: 270 mm; of the lion, 95 mm; Diameter of rim: 180 mm; Weight: 793.9 g

86.AM.754.1

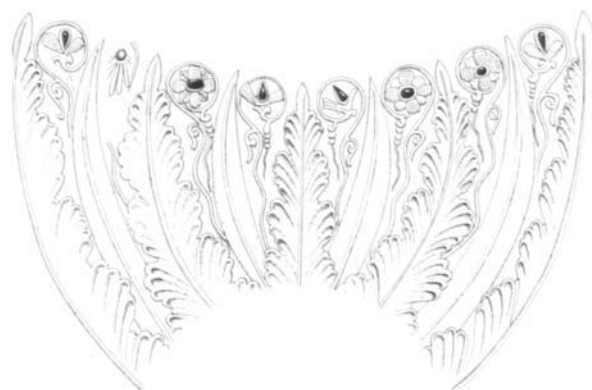
DESCRIPTION: Parcel-gilt. Slender, Hellenistic rhyton with forepart (or protome) of a male lion. The animal and the horn of the vessel are worked in separate parts and joined with a rounded cuff. Stone inlays have been placed in the otherwise gilded eyes with "Laokoon brows." The entire mane and the ears have been gilded over as have the veins on the front paws. An eight-petaled calyx of Seleucid acanthus and lanceolate leaves covers the lower part of the horn behind the cuff and places the vessel in the Hellenistic group of leaf calyx rhyta. The vessel itself follows more or less Achaemenid prototypes, although leaf calyx rhyta are not known before the late third or early second century B.C.

The calyx type is drawn from the early Hellenistic repertoire but the Seleucid acanthus can be first documented in the second century (see no. 1). Flowers with stone inlays on curved stalks are interspaced between the tips of the leaves (for the flower types, see chart). The acanthus, the central ribs of the lanceolate foliage, and the flowers with their stalks are all gilded over. A beaded line marks the upper edge of the floral decoration.

Below the overhanging lip of the horn runs a gilded ivy garland, composed of overlapping trefoil groups. Right above the lion six stones form the central motif of the garland, which is fastened at the back with a taenia. The knot is again elaborately decorated with semiprecious stones. The taenia motif is not known before the end of the third century. Right below the lip is a narrow frieze of "Achaemenid stepped battlements," which points to a Near Eastern workshop. According to the green oxidation, a slightly bent plate (no. 68) was likely buried in contact with the rhyton, which was already damaged in ancient times. Along with other items in treasure II, a date in the first century B.C. seems reasonable but an attribution to the later second century is not impossible. The rhyton along with treasure I demonstrates the strong Hellenistic influence in Iran after the breakdown of the Seleucid empire.

CONDITION: The lion is well preserved. The thin silver is worn through in places with some small modern restorations. Several strain cracks are in the thin silver of the horn, which was flattened out when found. At the back of the calyx almost all the gilding has come off and most of the ancient surface of the silver destroyed. The gilding of the ivy garland is fairly well preserved with the exception of a small section (length: 45 mm) on the right side of the central stone inlay.

DATE: First century B.C.







## 67 *Deep Cup with Leaf Decoration*

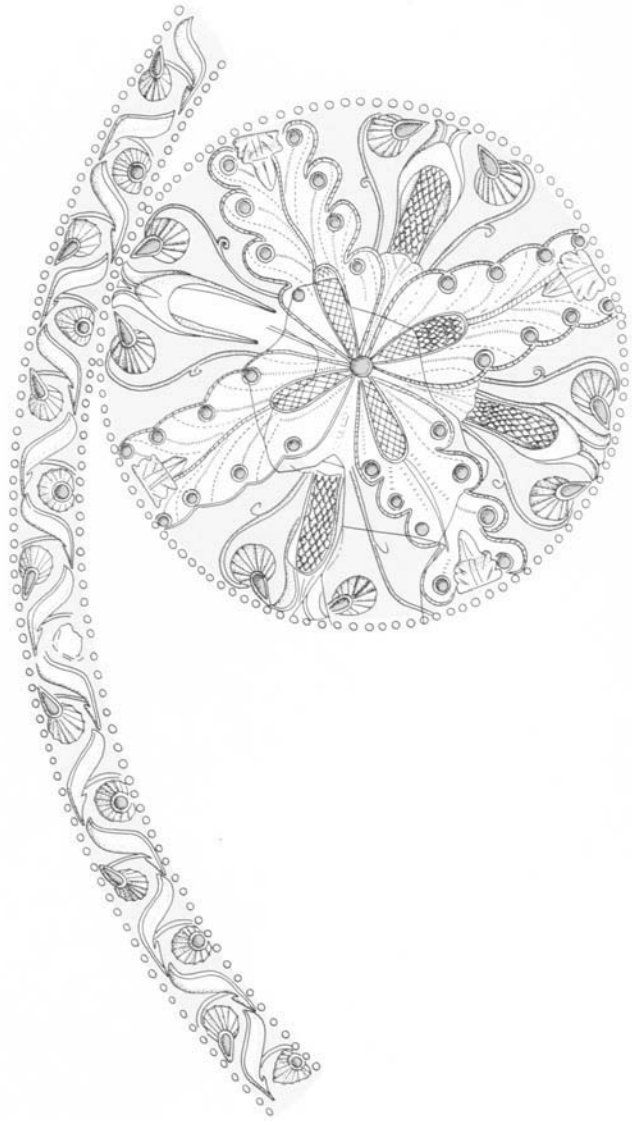
Silver; Diameter: 138 mm; Height: 90 mm; Weight:  
549.5 g  
86.AM.754.4

DESCRIPTION: Raised cup. Gilded all over. Deep bowl with subconical shape and three-dimensional leaf decoration on the exterior. The interior is left undecorated. Several ancient repairs. The exuberant calyx decoration that covers the lower half of the body is composed of an eight-petaled calyx of four acanthus-like leaves with three-dimensionally bent tips. Interspaced are four nymphaea-like leaves that function as frames for an incised scale pattern. All the tips of the foliage are made separately and have been soldered on. Blossoms with stone inlays grow on curved stalks between the tips of the calyx. The whole decoration rises from a four-petaled rosette with elongated leaves and a single stone in the center. The upper part of the exterior is decorated with a flower tendril with huge accompanying leaves framed by two three-dimensional beaded lines. The blossoms bear stone incrustations.

The bowl forms a link between treasure II and the Indo-Greek bowl from treasure IV (no. 76) and seems to have been manufactured by an atelier from the Bactrian or former Graeco-Bactrian sphere of influence, whereas the rhyton (no. 66) and the bowl (no. 68) reflect more the Hellenized traditions that dominate the repertoire of treasure I. Although produced in a provincial central Asian atelier, the general outline of the decoration is drawn from Greek bowls of the second century B.C. and demonstrates the remarkable Greek influence in the Hellenized East.

CONDITION: The upper parts of the cup are fairly well preserved, including the gilding. Some of the stone inlays are lost. According to J. Podany, the center of the vessel is possibly a modern restoration and the green patina of the interior is of doubtful authenticity.

DATE: First century B.C.





68 *Shallow Bowl with Three Friezes of Rosettes*

Silver; Diameter: 181–206 mm; Height: 60 mm; Thickness of the lip: 2 mm; Weight: 380.2 g

86.AM.754.5

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. The outside is left undecorated. In the interior incised and gilded rosettes or blossoms are arranged in three friezes set apart by wheel-cut grooves. A garnet decorates the center of the bowl. The vessel was in all likelihood found upside down on the side of the lion rhyton (no. 66). The flowers find close analogies on vessels from the third group of treasure I.

CONDITION: The bowl is slightly bent, with most of the gilding preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.



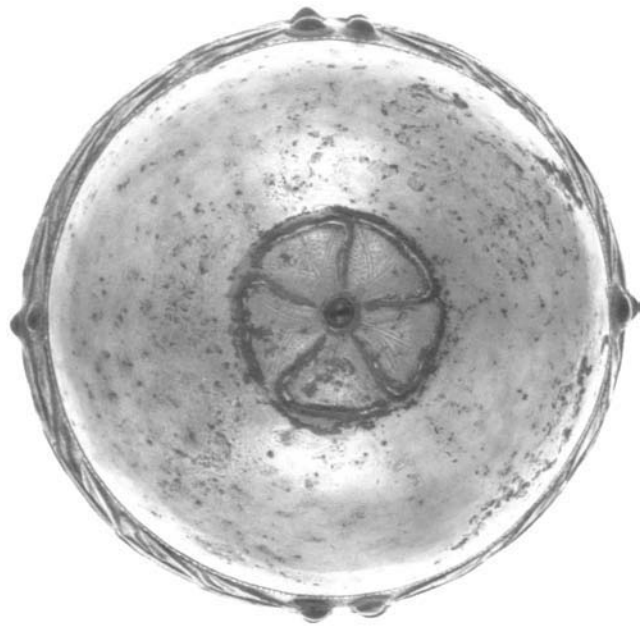
## 69, 70 *Two Hemispherical Cups with Stone Inlays*

Silver; Diameter: 103 mm; Height: 57 mm; Weight: no. 69, 253 g, no. 70, 278 g.  
86.AN.754.2-3

DESCRIPTION: Hemispherical bowls without any base ring. Raised from sheets of silver, parcel-gilt. Interiors left undecorated. In the center of the exterior of each a five-petaled rosette around a garnet. Each rim is bordered by a frieze of two trefoil garlands with bound trefoil groups running clockwise and counterclockwise, a motif that was especially popular in the Hellenized Near East (see no. 1). The central rosettes and the lanceolate leaves of the garlands are gilded. A pair and a set of four stones mark the beginning and end of the garlands in each case. On bowl no. 70 two of the garnets have been replaced by green glass inlays. The hemispherical bowl with a rosette in the center is already part of the Achaemenid repertoire and demonstrates the long-lasting native traditions in the ancient Near East, although all the decorative elements have been drawn from the Greek-Hellenistic repertoire. The overlapping leaves of the five-petaled rosettes speak for a date not earlier than the first century B.C. The bowls define, along with cup no. 67, the chronological limits of treasure I.

CONDITION: Most of the gilding preserved but the ancient surface lost in places.

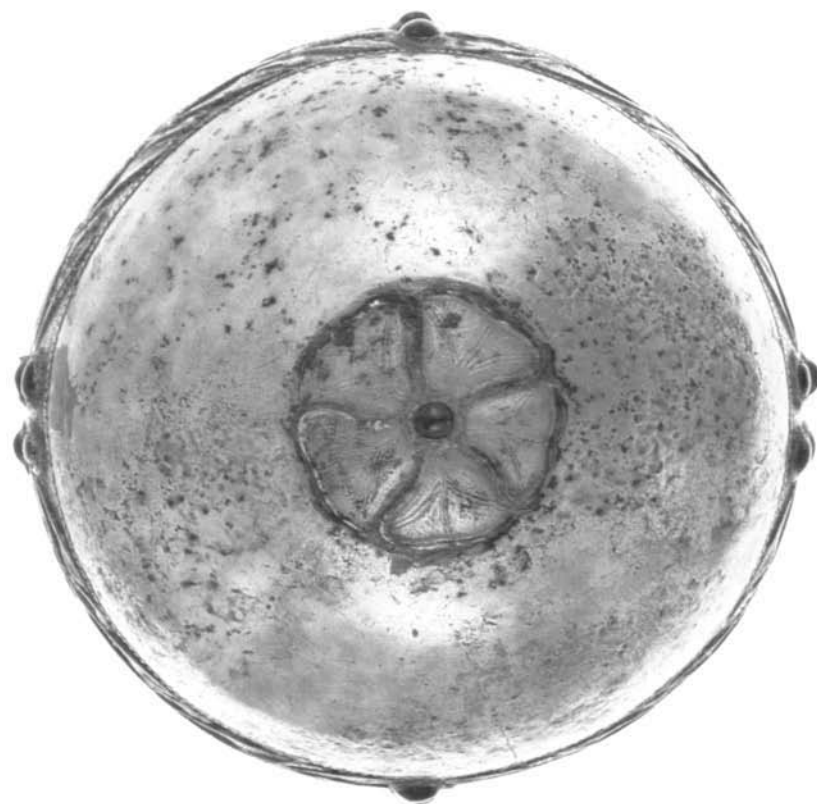
DATE: First century B.C.



No. 69, reduced



Profile (no. 69), reduced



## TREASURE III

### 71 *Lynx Rhyton*

Silver; Height: 240 mm; Diameter of the rim: 121 mm;  
Length of lynx: 88 mm; Height of lynx: 100 mm;  
Weight: 724.5 g  
86.AM.752.1

DESCRIPTION: Parcel-gilt. Slender rhyton with forepart (or protome) of a lynx. According to J. Podany, both the horn and the animal protome have been raised from single sheets of silver; only the legs of the lynx were cast separately. The animal and the lip of the rhyton are gilded all over. The high slender horn fits into a narrow cuff behind the body of the lynx protome. The slender horn is derived from the old Achaemenid prototypes but the lynx is a Hellenistic addition to the Near Eastern repertoire of animal rhyta.

A spout between the forelegs of the lynx was used to pour out wine into the user's mouth. The animal itself is shown spitting, in full attack, modeled in vigorous detail with outstretched paws and open muzzle. The teeth are showing and the ears are laid back in fury. Some of the hairlocks are accentuated in triangular engravings and the beard under the throat is given in low relief. The remaining fur is just indicated by stippling with the exception of the three-pointed whirl rosettes on the thighs. A collar around the neck characterizes the lynx as a half-tamed animal, perhaps used for hunting purposes; the collar could also indicate that we are dealing with the sacred animal of Dionysos. Said to have been found with the net pattern bowl (no. 72). Notwithstanding the entirely Greek-Hellenistic style, the Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. on the lip demonstrates that we are dealing with a native Iranian silversmith. The rhyton gives evidence for a considerable Hellenization of native workshops even after the breakdown of the Seleucid Empire.

INSCRIPTION: An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. is incised in dotted lines on the lip: 'bd (followed by an indecipherable Iranian personal name) *zwzyn* 165

The meaning of "'bd" is "has made"; thus the Iranian name must be interpreted as the name of the silversmith. For the meaning of "zwzyn," see no. 2 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.3 grams (724.5:

165). Not from the same hand as the almost identical, with the exception of the name, inscription on no. 73.

CONDITION: Most of the gilding on the lynx and of the lip of the vessel has been preserved, with the exception of the shoulders and the cheeks of the animal.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

DATE: First century B.C., probably second half.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 164–165, no. 21 with ill. on pp. 164, 165.







## 72 *Net Pattern Bowl*

Silver; Diameter: 202–205 mm; Height: 51 mm;  
Weight: 433.8 g  
86.AM.752.3

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt. Stone inlays. Shallow bowl of a shape predominating in treasures I and II, decorated exclusively on the interior. The exuberant decoration is primarily composed of a net of two rows of eight staggered pentagonals, arranged around a central leaf calyx of Near Eastern type. Each individual pentagonal frames a rosettelike flower with a garnet in the center (for the flower types, see chart). Another garnet marks the center of the bowl. The pentagonals with the flowers and the leaves of the central calyx are gilded all over, as is the inner lip of the vessel. The broad silver strips that separate the pentagonals and the four groups of tongues in the central leaf calyx contrast to their gilded surrounding.

The pentagonal or net pattern composition is entirely part of the Greek-Hellenistic repertoire and came into use in the second century B.C. As the calyx and the flowers prove, however, we are dealing here with the work of a Hellenized Near Eastern atelier. The flower types speak for a date in the first century B.C. and for an attribution to a workshop in the formerly Graeco-Bactrian sphere.

CONDITION: The bowl is slightly bent but otherwise in an almost perfect state of preservation.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

DATE: First century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 164–165, no. 21 with ill. on p. 164.



## RELATED RHYTA WITHOUT CONTEXTS

### 73 *Lynx Rhyton*

Silver; Height: 245 mm; Diameter of the rim: 122 mm.  
Length of lynx: 95 mm; Height of lynx: 105 mm;  
Weight: 817.6 g  
86.AM.752.2

DESCRIPTION: Same as no. 71.

INSCRIPTION: An Aramaic inscription of the first century B.C. is incised in dotted lines on the lip: 'bd (followed by an indecipherable Iranian personal name) *zwzyn 188*

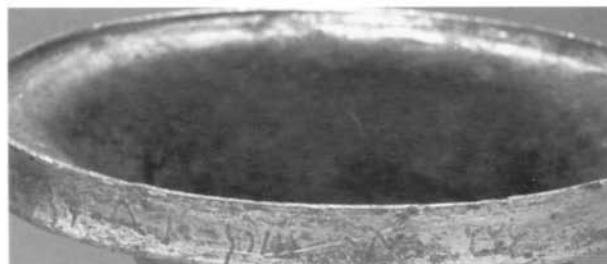
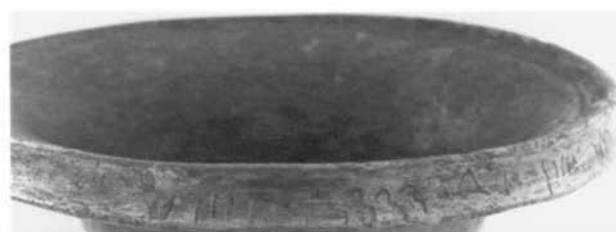
See discussion under no. 71 above. In this case, the silversmith seems to have used as his standard a Parthian drachma weighing 4.3 grams (817.6:188). Not from the same hand as the almost identical, with the exception of the name, inscription on no. 71.

CONDITION: Most of the gilding on the lynx and on the lip of the vessel has come off.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York.

DATE: First century B.C., probably second half.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), pp. 164–165, no. 21.





## 74 Stag Rhyton

Silver; Height: 274 mm; Diameter of rim including profile: 126 mm; Length of stag: 123 mm; Height of stag: 220 mm (horns to hooves); Weight: 899.6 g  
86.AM.753

**DESCRIPTION:** Slender rhyton with forepart (or protome) of a stag. According to J. Podany both the horn and the protome of the stag have been raised from a single sheet of silver. Feet, ears, and horns were cast separately and soldered on. Eyes inlaid with glass paste and black stones. The floral decoration of the vessel is raised. Incised wave patterns on the lip. Gilded all over. The animal is given with vigorous but somewhat ornamental details and only a few elements like the orbitals over the eyes or the elongated hooves are rendered in a more stylized fashion. Naturalistic veins are shown on the bony skull, but in contrast to this, the artist made no effort to achieve a naturalistic characterization of the fur. A hole between the legs formerly held a spout that is now lost.

The raised, exuberantly decorated horn is joined to the animal with a small cuff. The rich decoration is entirely floral (for the flower types, see chart) and speaks for a date in the late first century B.C. or in the first decades of the Christian era. An elaborate tendril pattern rises from an acanthus calyx that is held together by the cuff. The rhyton thus belongs to the class of leaf calyx rhyta that came into being in the Hellenistic period (see no. 66). The stag rhyton without tendril decoration was already part of the Achaemenid toreutic art and as such is no new element in the eastern repertoire.

Close to the rim is a narrow frieze covered with a trefoil garland with bound trefoil groups. This motif was especially popular in the Hellenized Near East and can likewise be traced in the Imperial Near Eastern repertoire. The frieze is bordered by beaded lines and crowned by a frieze of palmettes. The overlapping lip is decorated with an incised wave pattern.

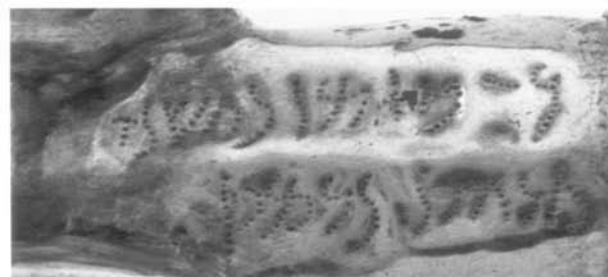
**INSCRIPTION:** An inscription in Aramaic letters (possibly Persian) of the first century A.D. on the belly of the animal.

**CONDITION:** Almost perfectly preserved. Only the gilding on one side of the vessel has come off in some places.

**PROVENANCE:** Private collection, New York.

**DATE:** Late first century B.C. or the earlier decades of the first century A.D.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), p. 165, no. 22 with ill.





## TREASURE IV

### 75 *Cup with a Leaf Calyx Decoration*

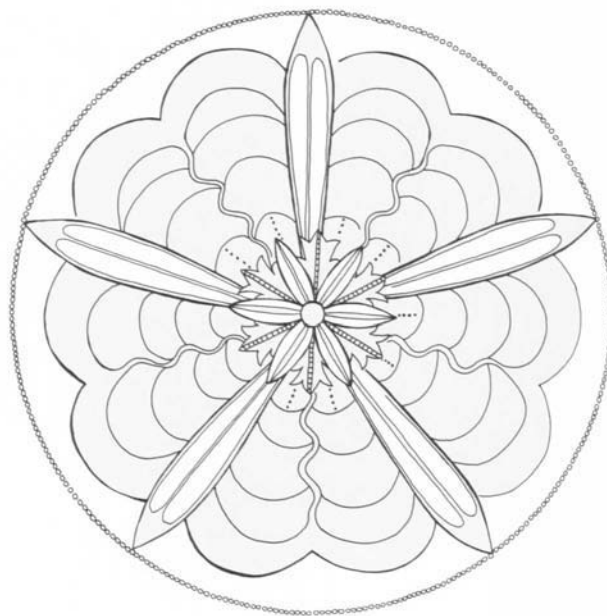
Silver; Diameter: 126 mm; Height: 53 mm; Thickness: 1.3 mm; at the lip, 3.75 mm; Weight: 298.4 g  
82.AM.103.2

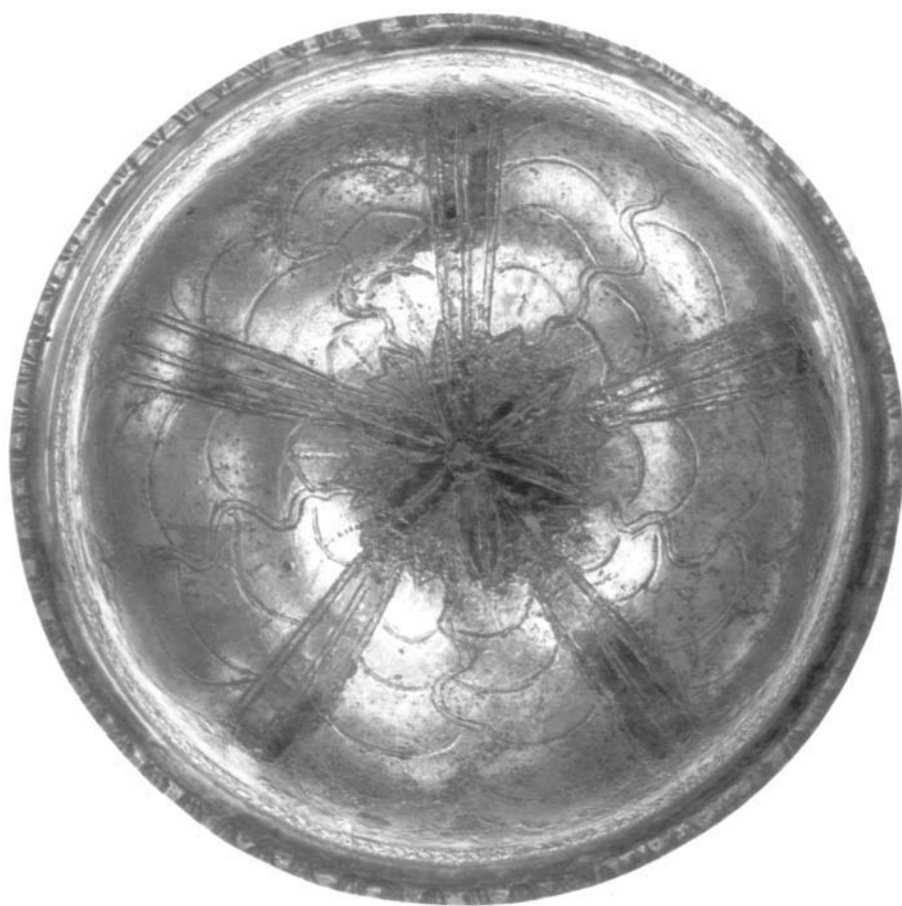
DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver. Incised ornament, parcel-gilt. A small, twelve-leaf lanceolate and acanthus calyx with lancet-shaped leaves in the first row from which emerges, though without axial symmetry, a ten-leaf calyx of slender lanceolate leaves and broad, veined nymphaea-like foliage. Except for the inner fields of the large lanceolate leaves, the entire leaf chalice is gilded. Above the calyx there is a triple guilloche framed by rows of beads. The lip is decorated with an inverted Ionian cymation. Interior undecorated.

The decoration is entirely derived from the eastern Graeco-Hellenistic repertoire, thus documenting the dominance of the Graeco-Macedonian repertoire in the Near East in the first century B.C. The type of vessel finds eastern parallels as well. The five-leaf composition with nymphaea-like foliage with curved central veins is paralleled on the pentagonal bowl from treasure III (no. 72). It not only corroborates the dating to the first century B.C., but the calyx-flower composition speaks for an atelier in the former Graeco-Bactrian sphere.

CONDITION: Well preserved, including the gilding. The surface shows blackish discoloration.

DATE: First century B.C.







## 76 *Bowl with Leaf Calyx Ornament*

Silver; Diameter: 135 mm; Height: 53 mm; Thickness: about 2 mm; at the lip, 3.5 mm; Weight: 368.4 g  
82.AM.103.5

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver. Originally gilded. In the center there is a ten-leaf rosette and nymphaea-like foliage. From this calyx emerges a one-row, eighteen-leaf lanceolate and acanthus calyx, without axial symmetry. Rounded leaves in front of the lancet-shaped foliage. A calyx of large, pointed leaves without axial symmetry, with filled floral tendrils and acanthus whose leaf tips bend toward each other in pairs. Between tips of the leaves there are blossoms.

An endless flower scroll above the leaf calyx is placed between rows of beads. All of the leaves of the calyx ornament, all of the blossoms, the large leaves of the flower tendril, and the framing row of beads are represented in more or less high relief. There were originally stone inlays in all of the blossoms, in the rounded leaves of the small calyx, and in the lobes of the acanthus. All the other parts of the ornament are incised. Small traces indicate that the outside of the bowl was once completely gilded. Interior undecorated.

The overlapping leaves of the central rosette suggest a date not earlier than the first century B.C. (see no. 69). In technical and stylistical respect, the bowl is closely related to a cup from treasure II (no. 67) and must be attributed to a workshop tradition in the former Graeco-Bactrian sphere (see no. 75).

CONDITION: Gilding lost except for small traces. The majority of the stones are missing. Otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.





## 77 Cup

Silver; Diameter: 123–124 mm; Height: 69 mm; Thickness: 1.5 mm; at the lip, 4.5 mm; Weight: 374.0 g  
82.AM.103.3

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver. Gilding on the inner profile of the lip and on the inside on a double strip below the lip. The cup belongs to a Hellenistic Greek type.

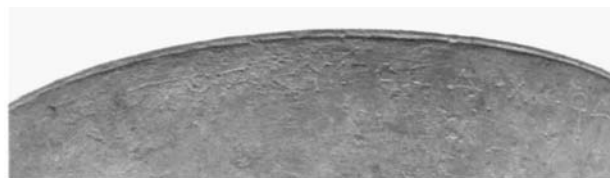
INSCRIPTION: Partially illegible Greek inscription on the outside beneath the rim in letters 2.5 to 3 millimeters high, including an indication of weight: 194.

Given the cup's actual weight of 374 grams, the standard used here would have been no more than 1.83 grams per drachma. However, according to Iannis Touratsoglou (Athens, National Numismatic Museum), the inscription should be reconstructed as ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΖΕΥΓΟΣ ΔΡΧ and refers to a pair of cups (ΖΕΥΓΟΣ = pair) that together weigh 194 drachmas. If we assume that the

weight of the lost cup was about the same as that of the preserved example, the approximate total weight would be 748 grams, indicating a standard of about 3.8 grams, which is in accord with the Parthian standard of 3.7 to 4.3 grams per drachma (see no. 2 above).

CONDITION: Parts of the inscription are damaged, otherwise well preserved. On the lip, two places, each about 10 millimeters wide and across from one another, are more highly polished than the rest; possibly traces left by recent attempts to clean the vessel.

DATE: Probably first century B.C.



## 78 *Situla or Bucket-Shaped Vessel*

Silver; Diameter: at the mouth, 91–93 mm; at the largest point, 99 mm; Height: 68 mm; Thickness: about 2 mm; at the lip, 5.5 mm; Weight: 410.9 g

82.AM.103.4

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of silver. The vessel originally had a handle with one heart-shaped attachment with a cross tip and one simple, round escutcheon. This special type of attachment is documented in late Hellenistic contexts.

CONDITION: The handle is lost and only traces of soldering remain of the attachments.

DATE: First century B.C.



## 79 *Bowl*

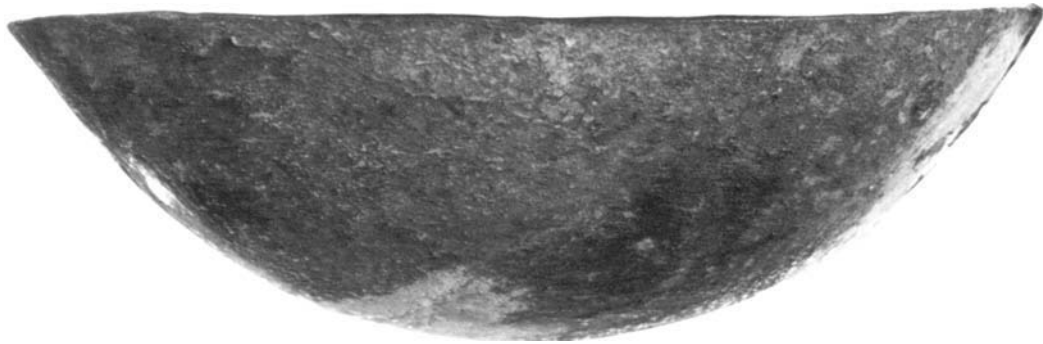
Silver; Diameter: 137–139 mm; Height: 43 mm; Thickness at rim: 2 mm; Weight: 143.85 g

82.AM.103.1

DESCRIPTION: Shallow bowl without foot or base ring. Raised from a single sheet of silver, parcel-gilt.

CONDITION: Restored from several fragments.

DATE: First century B.C.?



## 80 *Cup on Footstand*

Gold; Diameter: 113 mm; Height: 79 mm; Thickness:  
0.2 mm; Weight: 73.6 g

82.AM.97

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. The type of the vessel finds parallels in pottery in Ai Khan-  
oum (Afghanistan) and in Taxila (Pakistan) and corrobor-  
orates the alleged provenance of the whole group (see  
no. 75).

CONDITION: Several breaks in the sides. The edge is  
somewhat bent, but the vessel is completely preserved.

DATE: First century B.C.



81–84 *Appliqués: Eagle-Griffin  
Tearing a Hare (Harness  
Ornament)*

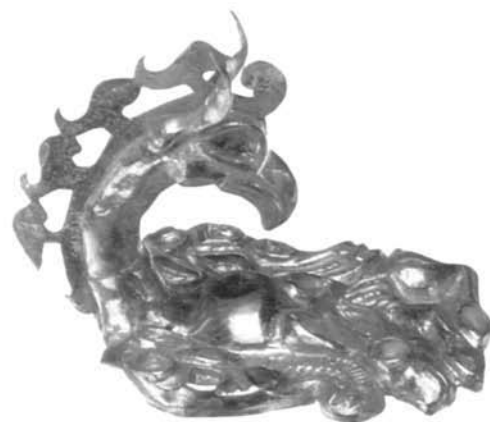
Gold; Plaque: 60×40 mm; Height: 40 mm; Weight:  
8.9–11.1 g  
82.AM.99.3.a–d

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold, except for the griffin's head and neck, which were cast. Ears and combs of the griffins are individually worked. Four eyes on the back of each plaque for attaching the pieces. Several other coarsely made holes (for instance, in the wings) speak for a later reuse of the plaques. The eyes of the eagle-griffin, the feathers of the wings, its thighs and feet, and the eyes and ear of the hare were originally inlaid with stones (i.e., turquoises). There was originally a lapis lazuli inlay in the chest of the eagle-griffin.

This type of appliqué has a long tradition among nomadic finds from the western Scythian region north of the Black Sea to the Altai in central Asia. The earliest examples belong to the fourth century B.C. The parallels have exclusively been used as harness decorations. The eaglelike creature in full attack belongs to the central Asian animal style. The Getty appliqués form the latest pieces known to me and corroborate the central Asian connections of their former owners, reflecting the nomadic dominance over the formerly Graeco-Bactrian sphere in the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

CONDITION: The inlays are for the most part lost. Except for the holes made for reuse, well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



## 85–88 Buttons with Curled Griffins (Harness Ornament)

Gold; Diameter: 24 mm; Height: 14–15 mm; Weight:  
11.8–12.6 g  
82.AM.99.4.a–d

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Reclining griffin with hooves turned toward the back and curled up. Eyes and ears originally probably inlaid with stones. The tail ends in a small griffin's head. There is a horizontally placed pin for fastening the buttons on the inside.

The buttons decorated in all probability the crossing points of a horse's harness straps. The hooved animal is a fabulous being from the central Asian repertoire. The type of the button itself belongs to the same cultural ambience as the appliqués (nos. 81–84) and dates to the same period.

CONDITION: Well preserved, although none of the inlays that may once have been present are now preserved. The inside is filled with an organic substance (resin?).

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Back view



## 89 Torque

Gold; Diameter: between 157 and 140 mm; Weight:  
36.4 g  
82.AM.98.3

DESCRIPTION: Torque with trumpet-shaped ends. The type as torque and bracelet is well documented in nomadic horizons in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the late first century B.C. to early first century A.D.

CONDITION: The torque was bent into a spiral at the time of purchase; otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.





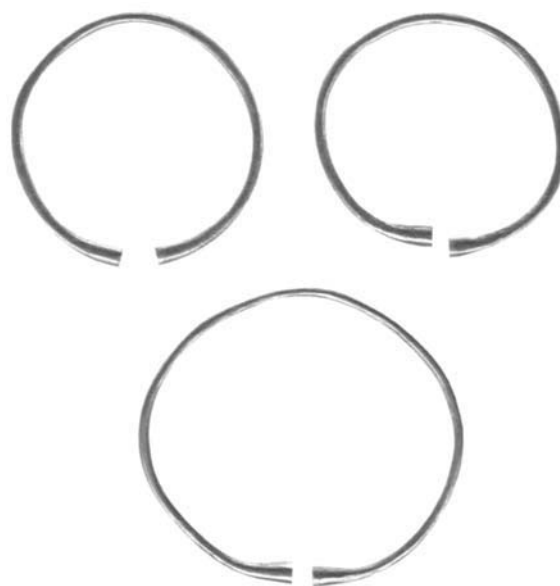
### 90–92 *Bracelets*

Gold; Diameter: between 67 and 68 mm; between 69 and 63 mm; between 86 and 80 mm; Weight: 50.5 g; 49.3 g; 50.7 g  
82.AM.98.2.a–c

DESCRIPTION: Three bracelets with trumpet-shaped ends (see no. 89).

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 93 *Mount in the Shape of a Wolf's Head (Fitting for a Belt Buckle?)*

Gold; 115 × 47 mm; Weight: 30.4 g  
82.AM.99.1

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Head of a wolf with a wrinkled nose and ears laid back. Small rivet holes on the neck and a larger one in the mouth. The wolf is a popular animal in the central Asiatic animal style and thus is in keeping with the cultural sphere mentioned previously (see nos. 81–84).

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



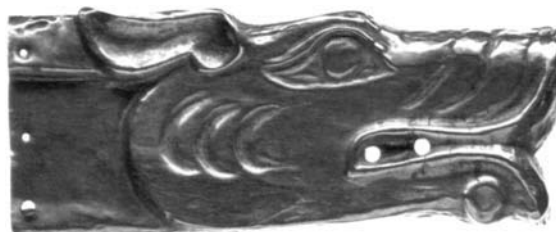
94 *Mount in the Shape of a Wolf's  
Head (Fitting for a Belt Buckle?)*

Gold; 111 × 46 mm; Weight: 29.7 g  
82.AM.105

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Decoration like that of no. 88. Once suspected by J. Frel of being a modern copy of no. 88, but presumed genuine after visual examination by Adolph Greifenhagen and Wolf Rudolph in 1984. As far as I can see there is no reason to doubt the authenticity.

CONDITION: Well preserved including three small gold rivets in the rivet holes.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



95 *Mount for a Belt Buckle (?) with  
Rams' Heads*

Gold; 55 × 48 mm; Weight: 45.9 g  
82.AM.99.2

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Juxtaposed rams' heads with horns and beards. Horns, eyes, and jaw, as well as beards, originally inlaid with stones. The type of buckle belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Well preserved except for discoloration of the few stone inlays preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 96–99 *Belt Buckles*

Gold; Diameter: 24 and 28 mm; Weight: 12.0 and 12.4 g  
82.AM.98.1.a–d

DESCRIPTION: Four buckles made of gold wire soldered together. Rings with tongues. The type of buckle belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 100, 101 *Parts of a Belt Buckle*

Silver; Diameter: 32 mm; Weight: 15.5 g  
82.AM.104.1–2

DESCRIPTION: Thick silver wire soldered together, as nos. 96–99.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



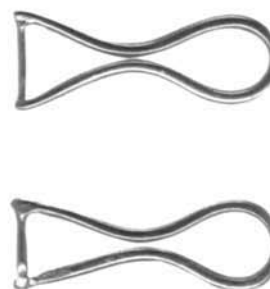
### 102, 103 *Belt Hooks*

Gold; Length: 33 mm; Weight: 3.8 g  
82.AM.98.6.a–b

DESCRIPTION: Two hooks made of gold wire, soldered together. The type of buckle belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: The tongues of the buckles are missing, otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



104 *Belt Hook and Part of a Buckle*

Gold; Length: 16 mm; Weight 1.5 g  
82.AM.102.2

DESCRIPTION: Hammered gold in the shape of a horse-shoe with rivets at the open end.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



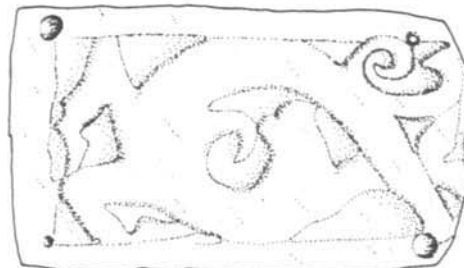
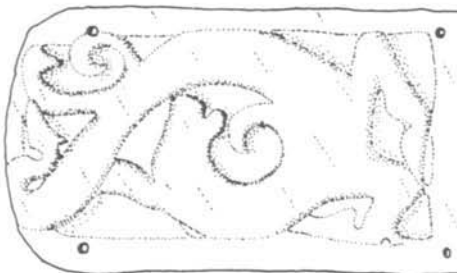
105, 106 *Metal Mounts from Belt Buckles (?) with Representations of a Horse Curled Up*

Gold; 91 × 52 mm; Weight: 18.6 and 20.7 g  
82.AM.98.4.a-b

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. The curled horse is a typical motif of the central Asian animal style and belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Two holes were made at a later time in the metal of one piece but the emblem was taken into consideration. Two rivets preserved in the second piece.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



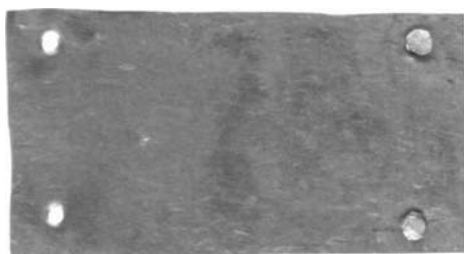
*107, 108 Metal Mounts for a Belt  
Buckle*

Gold; 59×32 and 58×32 mm; Weight: 14.7 and 16.6 g  
82.AM.98.4.c-d

DESCRIPTION: In front of a rectangular notch in the sheet there is a peg, as on nos. 91-96.

CONDITION: Well preserved. Three of the eight original gold rivets are preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



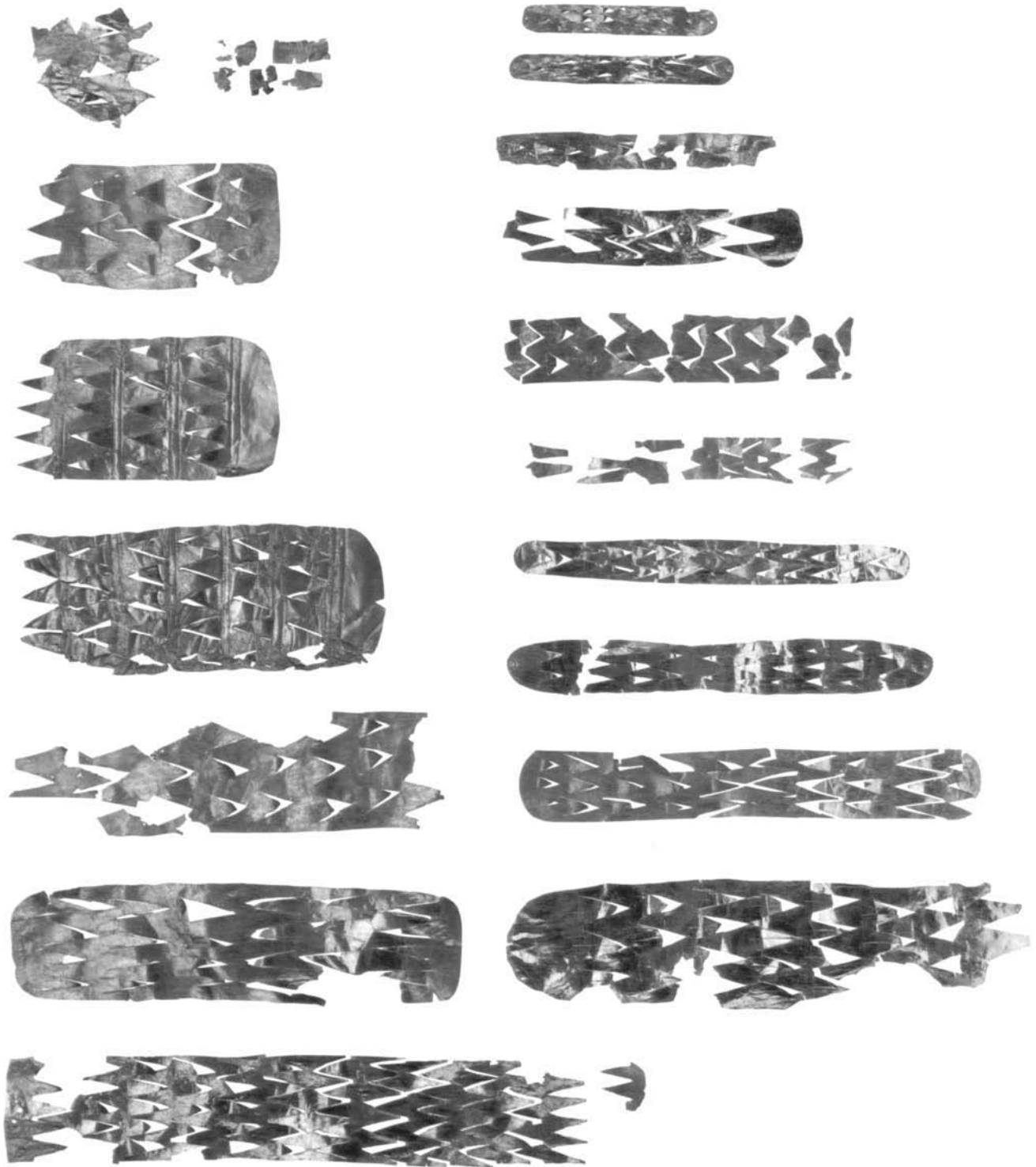
*109 Metal Mounts for Belts*

Gold; Height: between 15 and 50 mm; Length: 21.5-6.7 mm; Weight: 1.1-8.4 g  
81.AM.116

DESCRIPTION: Cut from gold sheet. Overlapping gold sheet plaques that guarantee the flexibility of the belt. Elements are cut in rhomboid and zigzag shapes. Given the size and nature of the preserved fragments, there must have been at least seventeen separate pieces. Similar but not identical motifs can be traced among central Asian finds.

CONDITION: Seven plaques completely or almost fully preserved, five plaques preserved to a large extent, five plaques preserved in fragments of different sizes.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



**110** *Metal Mount with Geometrical Ornament*

Gold; 115 × 80 mm; Weight: 17.4 g  
82.AM.100.2

DESCRIPTION: Cut from gold sheet. Ornament consisting of two volutes that are not entirely symmetrical. Similar decorations can be found already in early Hellenistic contexts in central Asia.

CONDITION: Well preserved, bent in only a few places.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.?



**111** *Round Appliqué with Pentafoliate Rosette*

Gold; Diameter: 37 mm; Weight: 3.0 g  
82.AM.100.1.a

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Pentafoliate rosette of nymphaea-like leaves with inner contour parallel to the edge of the leaf. Above each bent tip an embossed line. The rosette is framed by a cord. Two holes for later reuse. The type of the rosette finds parallels in the Hellenized Near Eastern repertoire (see chart).

CONDITION: Somewhat bent, but with the exception of a small crack, fully preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



**112** *Round Appliqué with Eight-Pointed Star*

Gold; Diameter: 35 mm; Weight: 2.4 g  
82.AM.100.1.b

DESCRIPTION: Cut from gold sheet. Star has a raised center. The appliqué is framed by a simple woven band. The type of the appliqué belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Some of the points of the star were broken off by the woven band, which also has two cracks.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



113 *Round Appliqué with Seven-Pointed Star*

Gold; Diameter: 26 mm; Weight: 1.4 g  
82.AM.100.1.f

DESCRIPTION: Cut from gold sheet. Star has a small raised center and long radiate points. A thin silver rod, soldered to the center of the back, extends through one point.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



114 *Round Appliqué with Seven-Pointed Star*

Gold; Diameter: 38 mm; Weight: 3.6 g  
82.AM.100.1.d

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Irregular seven-pointed star with a raised center. Background with cross-hatching.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



115 *Round Appliqué with Eight-Pointed Star*

Gold; Diameter: 42 mm; Weight: 2.5 g  
82.AM.100.1.e

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. In the center of the star there was originally a gem surrounded by a woven band. There are eight raised spikes in the outer row of the chalice and behind them eight broad spikes with cross-hatching. The star is framed by a simple woven band.

CONDITION: About a third of the outer woven band and parts of the star are missing.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.





### 116 *Round Appliqué with Eight-Pointed Star*

Gold; Diameter: 25 mm; Weight: 1.7 g  
82.AM.100.1.C

DESCRIPTION: Raised from a single sheet of gold. Two-row star with raised spikes and center. The spikes in the first row are rounded at the center. There are four pairs of holes for attaching the piece.

CONDITION: The star is very dented, but the appliqué is fully preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 117 *Square Appliqués with Blossoms*

Gold; 31 × 31 mm and 32 × 31 mm; Weight: 0.8–0.9 g  
82.AM.100.3.a–d

DESCRIPTION: Four appliqués raised from sheets of gold. Appliqué with beaded frame; lotus blossom star organized diagonally around a large center. Each piece has four holes for sewing on the appliqué. The four-blossom star is a common type for appliqués in nomadic central Asia.

CONDITION: Almost all of the corners badly damaged. Numerous cracks. The center is missing from one of the pieces.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



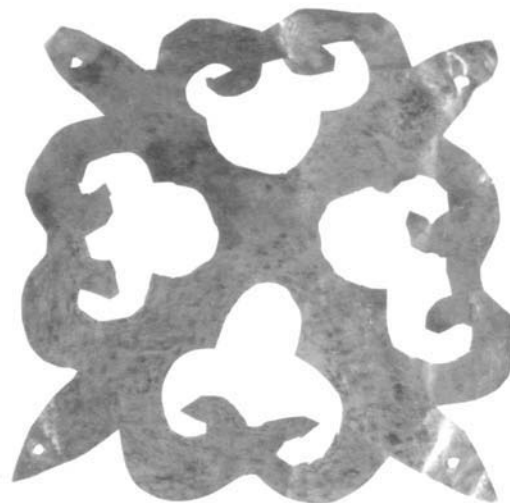
## 118 *Lotus Blossom Stars*

Gold; Diameter: 91–99 mm; Weight: 5.5–5.9 g  
82.AM.101.5

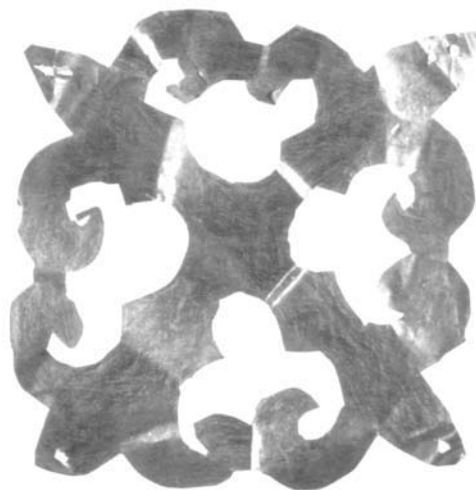
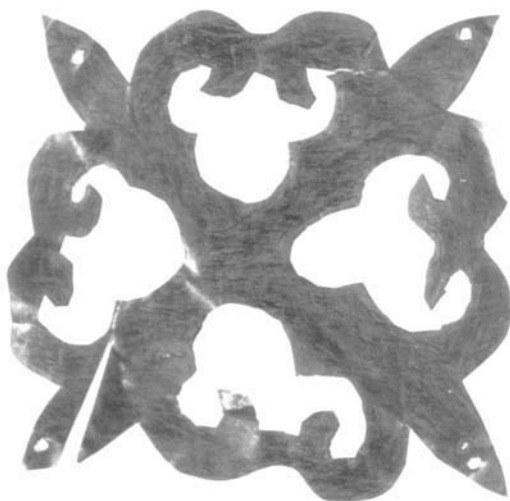
DESCRIPTION: Twenty-five stars raised from sheets of gold. Four simple lotus blossoms arranged around a center. Four small holes for sewing on the stars. The type belongs to the same cultural sphere described in no. 114.

CONDITION: Twenty-three more or less fully preserved pieces and two in fragments.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Four of twenty-five



## 119 *Lotus Blossom Stars*

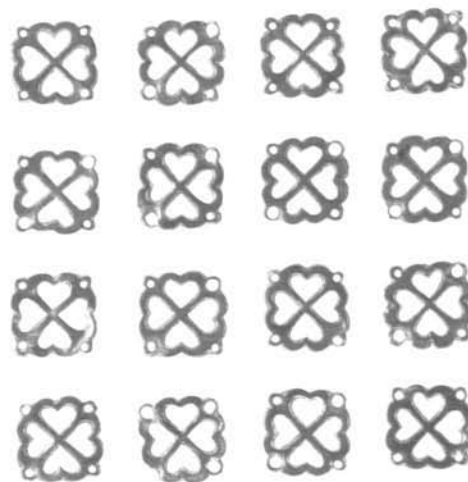
Gold; Square, length of one side: 12 mm; Weight: 0.4–0.5 g

82.AM.101.2

DESCRIPTION: Eighty stars raised from sheets of gold. As for no. 118, except that the blossoms are more abstract here. Four small holes in each for attachment.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Sixteen of eighty

## 120 *Appliqués in the Shape of Small, Four-Lobed Ivy Leaf Calyxes*

Gold; Length of one side: 15–16 mm; Weight: 0.3–0.4 g

82.AM.101.3

DESCRIPTION: One hundred seventy-one appliqués raised from sheets of gold. Four small attachment holes in each. The type finds parallels not only in the Hellenized Near Eastern but also in the central Asiatic repertoire.

CONDITION: Well preserved except for some missing parts.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Twenty of one hundred seventy-one

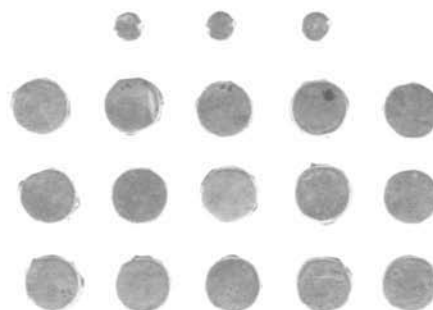
## 121 *Round Appliqués*

Gold; Diameter: 8 mm; Weight: 0.1–0.2 g  
82.AM.101.1

DESCRIPTION: Eighty-seven appliqués raised from sheets of gold. Edges of appliqués bent back. The type finds close parallels in tombs of the late first century B.C. to early first century A.D. in Afghanistan and belongs to the same cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Eighteen of eighty-seven

## 122 *Small Plaques*

Gold; Length of one side: 20 mm; Weight: 0.3 g  
82.AM.100.4

DESCRIPTION: Five plaques raised from sheets of gold. The pieces could be arranged as a five-pointed star without a center. Each plaque has two holes for attachment.

CONDITION: Somewhat crumpled but otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



## 123 *Small Plaques*

Gold; Length of one side: 10 mm; Weight: 0.1 g  
82.AM.101.4

DESCRIPTION: One hundred eighteen plaques raised from sheets of gold. The pieces could be arranged as a five-pointed star without a center. Each has two small holes for attachment.

CONDITION: Well preserved, with a few minor cracks.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



Four of one hundred eighteen

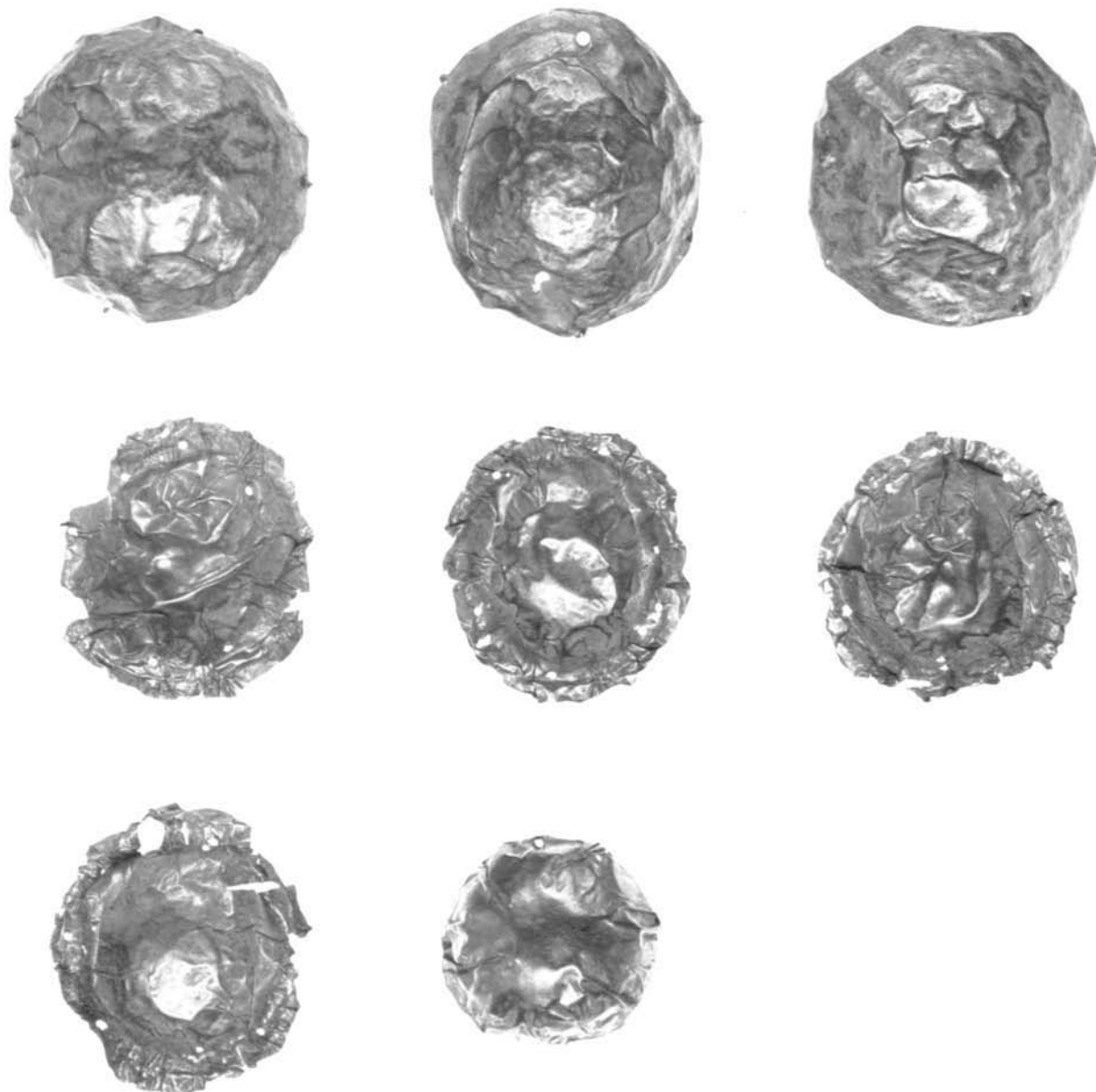
## 124 *Round Appliqués*

Gold; Diameter: 31–50 mm; Height: about 5–13 mm;  
Weight: 1.8–3.9 g  
82.AM.98.5.a–h

DESCRIPTION: Eight appliqués raised from sheets of gold. Several small holes for sewing them on.

CONDITION: Crumpled but otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 125 *Blossom*

Gold; Height: 33 mm; Weight: 1.4 g  
82.AM.102.1

DESCRIPTION: Individual parts cut from gold sheet.

CONDITION: Somewhat crumpled but otherwise well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



### 126 *Statuette of a Camel Rider*

Silver; Height: 42 mm; Weight: 15.6 g  
82.AM.104.3

DESCRIPTION: Parts cast and soldered together. Rider seated on a Bactrian camel that is too small in scale. The type of the camel is in keeping with the cultural sphere described in nos. 81–84.

CONDITION: Well preserved.

DATE: First century B.C. to first century A.D.



## BOWL

### 127 *Bowl with a Medallion Depicting Dionysos and Ariadne*

Silver; Diameter: 144 mm; Height: 32 mm (originally probably 3–4 mm lower); Diameter of the bowl without the rim: 111 mm and 105 mm; Thickness: about 0.3 mm; Diameter of the emblem: 103–105 mm; Height of the relief: about 13 mm; Weight: total, 129.3 g; bowl (with the fragments belonging to it), 83.7 g; medallion, 45.4 g  
83.AM.389

**DESCRIPTION:** The bowl is raised with gilded moldings on the inside. There is likewise gilding on the Ionian cymation on the rim. In the medallion, there is a youthful Dionysos and Ariadne, facing right. Turned away from the couple there is a seated Silenus, facing right. Next to him is the thyrsos staff. The field is framed by a grape leaf tendril. The ground, draperies, hair, jewelry, thyrsos staff, and the tendril are all gilded.

The type of the vessel occurs first in the late third or early second century B.C. and was used in the Hellenized East even in Imperial times. For the figural scene on the medallion, the silversmith cited and reinterpreted earlier Hellenistic prototypes, such as representations of “Eros and Psyche.” The details suggest a date in the second century B.C. and a workshop in the Hellenized Near East.

**CONDITION:** About a third of the rim and the wall of the bowl are missing. The thin silver of the medallion broke several times during the working of the ornament, but on the whole it is well preserved. The relief was originally filled from the back with organic material.

**DATE:** Second or first century B.C.







## CUP

### 128 *Bull's Head Cup*

Silver; Diameter of rim: 90 mm; Diameter of bull's head: 77 mm; Height of head: 92 mm; Height of inserted cup: 58 mm; Weight: total, 276.98 g; bull's head, 181 g; cup, 95.98 g

87.AM.58.1-2

DESCRIPTION: Both parts are raised from single sheets of silver. Only the ears are separately worked and soldered on. The eye sockets originally carried inlays. The vase pictures the head of a bull calf with wide-open eyes, small budding horns, and upright ears. The removable cup, intended to hold the liquid, is undecorated and fits inside the head. A belted garland, bound with two tightly knit fillets or taeniae, runs beneath the rim. The fur is indicated by engraved lines and there are vigorous curls on the forehead and around the horns. As in reality, the center of the forehead is marked by a huge whirled curl. The dewlap is characterized by heavy grooves.

INSCRIPTION: on the outside of the rim of the inserted cup, a weight in drachmas: 67.

The total weight of the animal head and the cup (276.98 g), therefore, corresponds to a drachma of 4.13 grams. Thus, although the craftsman of the bull's head cup used the Greek and not the Aramaic numbering system, the standard used is entirely in keeping with the Parthian standard of 3.7 to 4.3 grams already mentioned (see no. 2 above).

CONDITION: Heavy incrustation covers one side of the head of the animal and the inlays of the eyes are lost. Otherwise well preserved, including the gilding. Only minor incrustations below the rim on the cup.

DATE: First century B.C. or first century A.D.

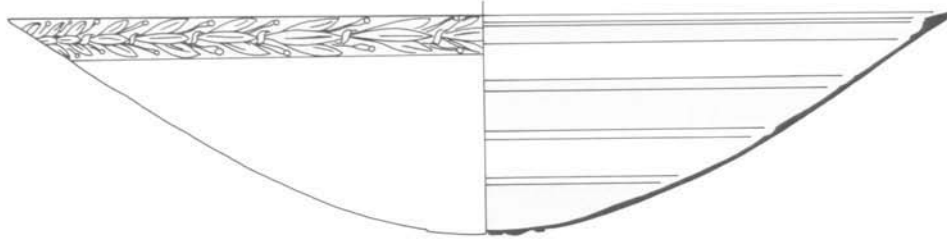




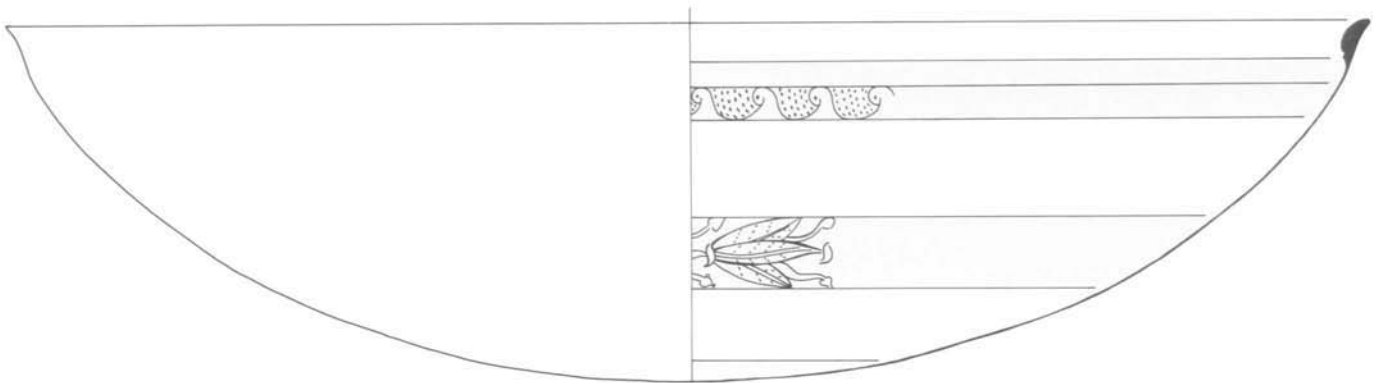
*This page intentionally left blank*

# PROFILES

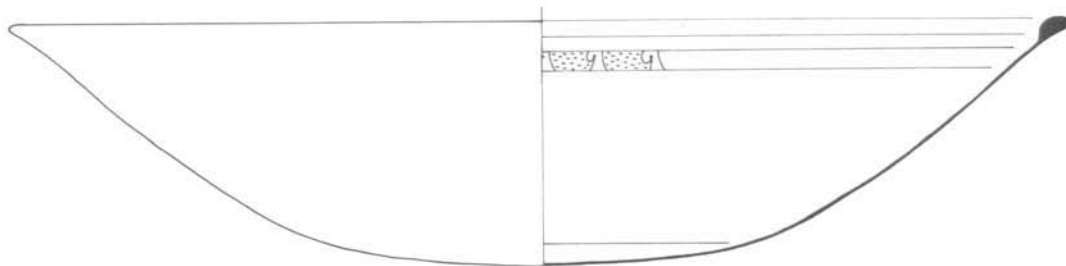
In all cases the scale is 2:3



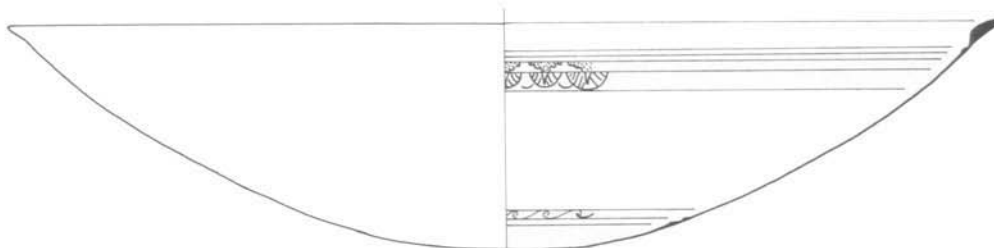
no. 1



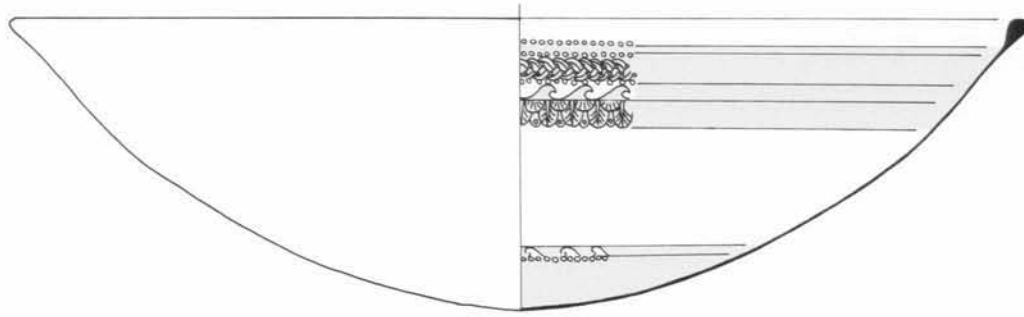
no. 2



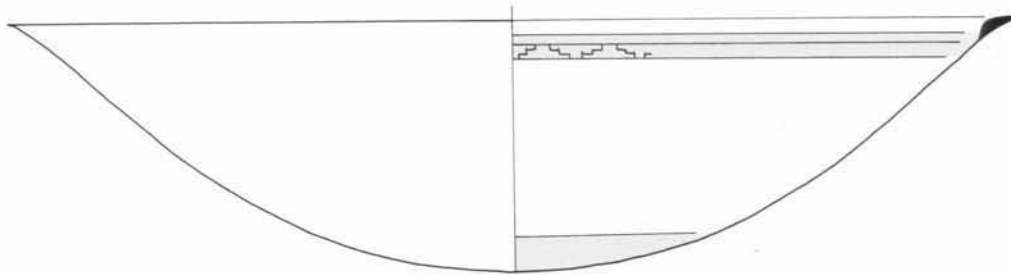
no. 3



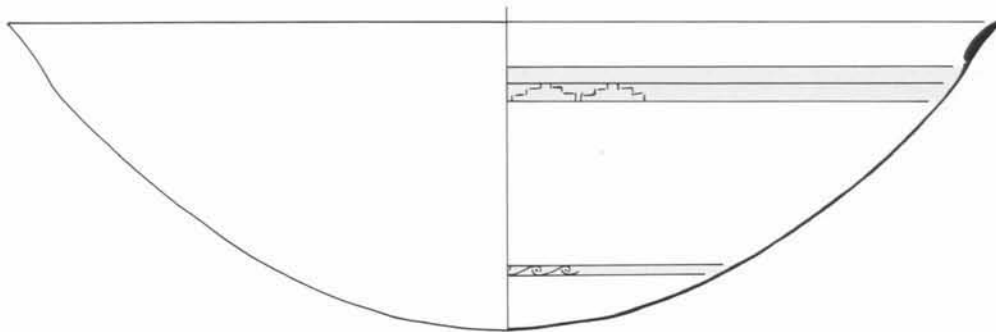
no. 4



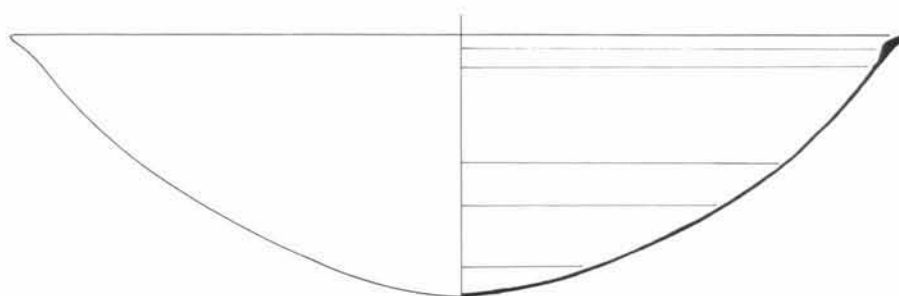
no. 5



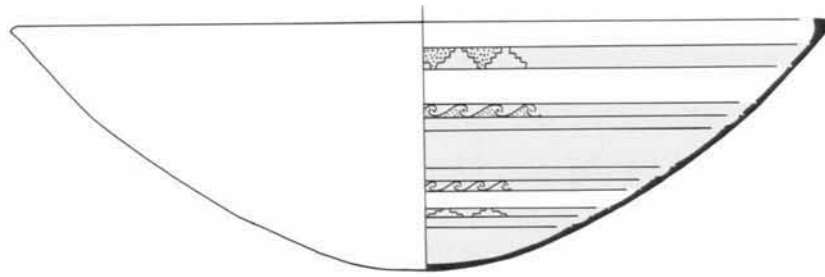
no. 6



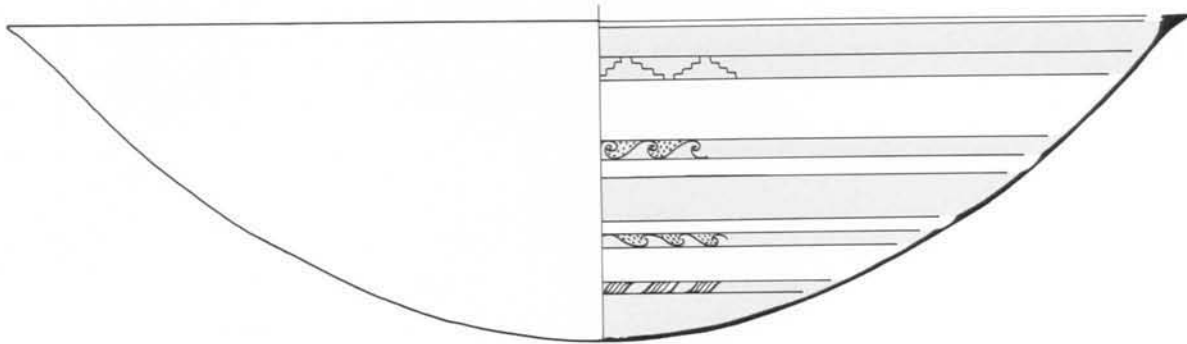
no. 7



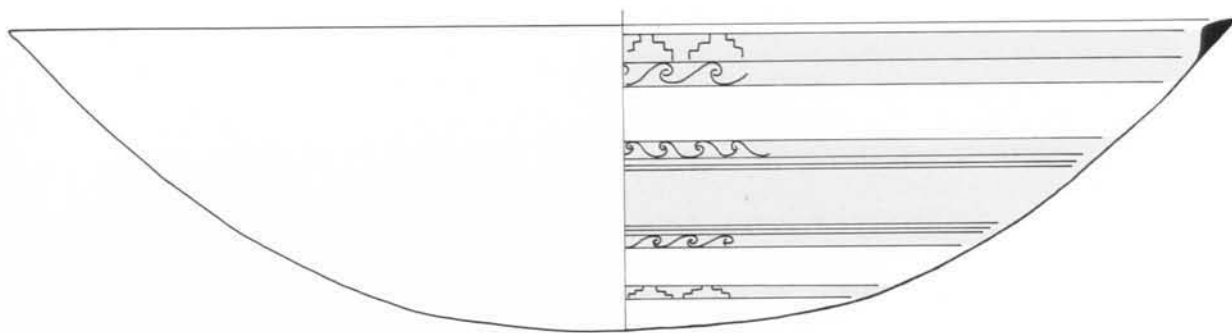
no. 8



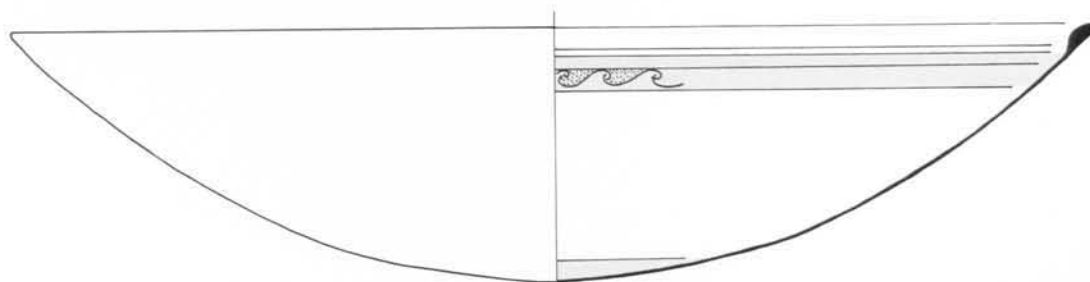
no. 9



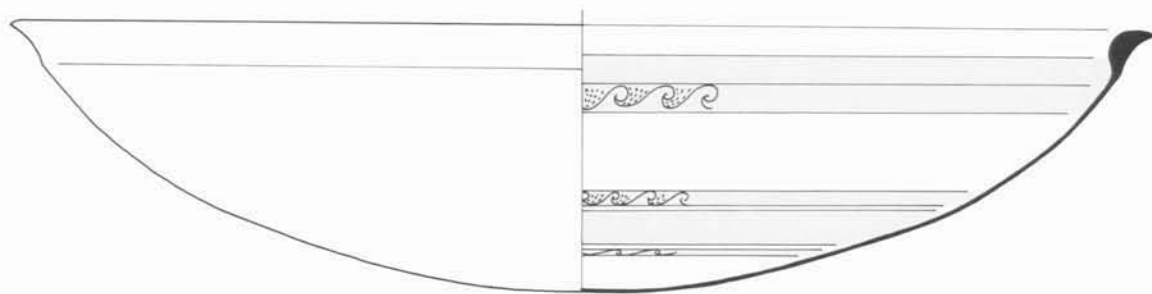
no. 10



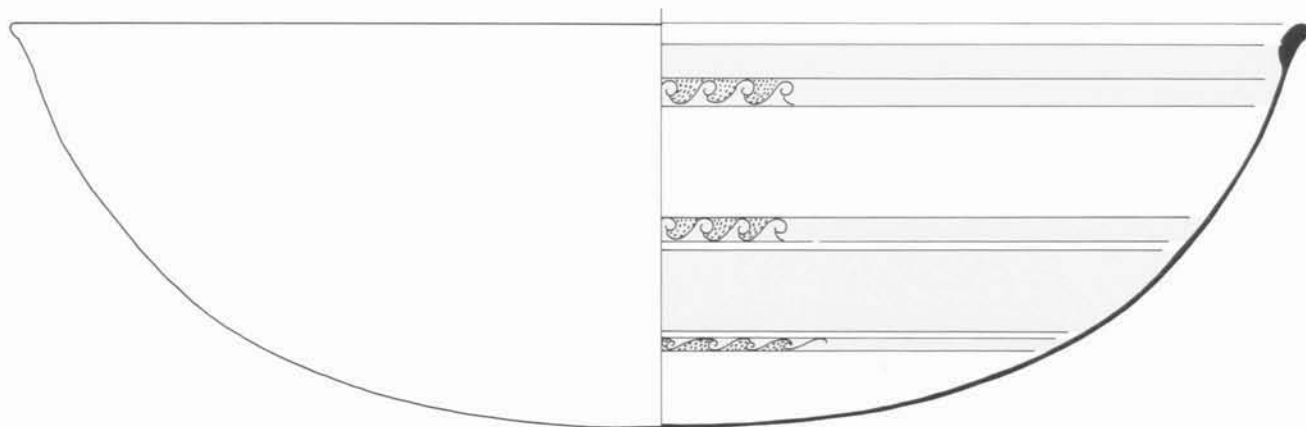
no. 11



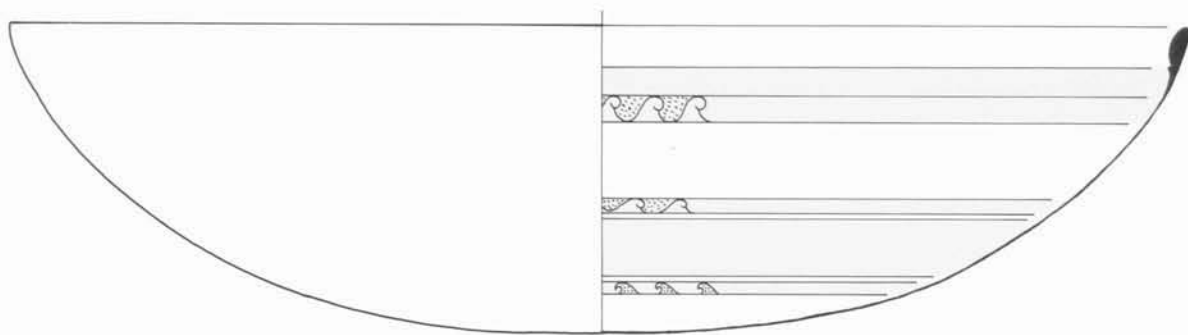
no. 12



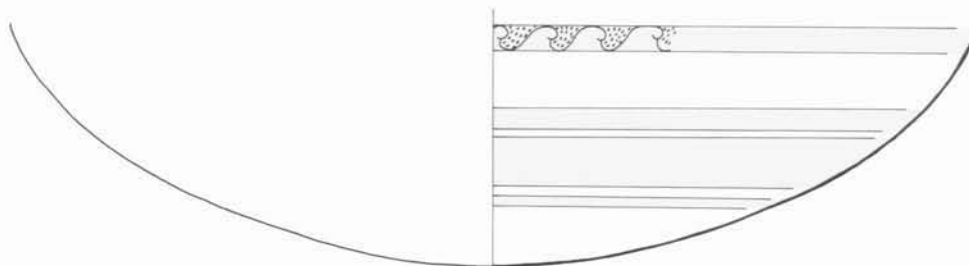
no. 13



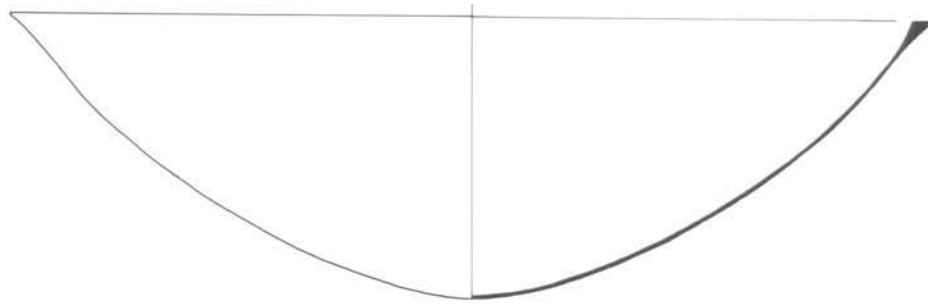
no. 14



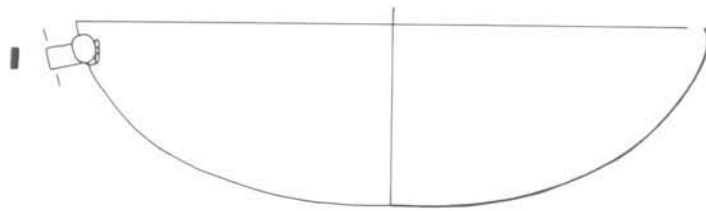
no. 15



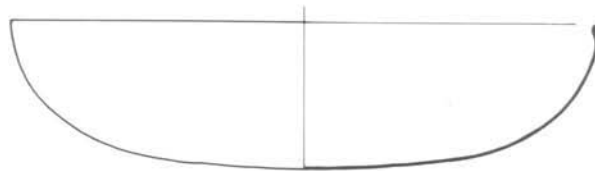
no. 16



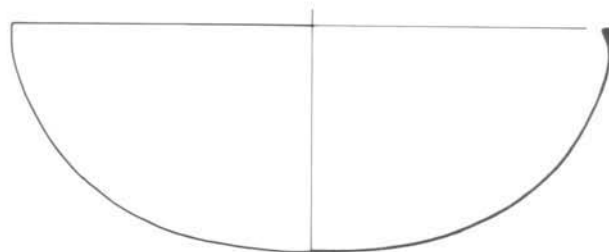
no. 18



no. 19

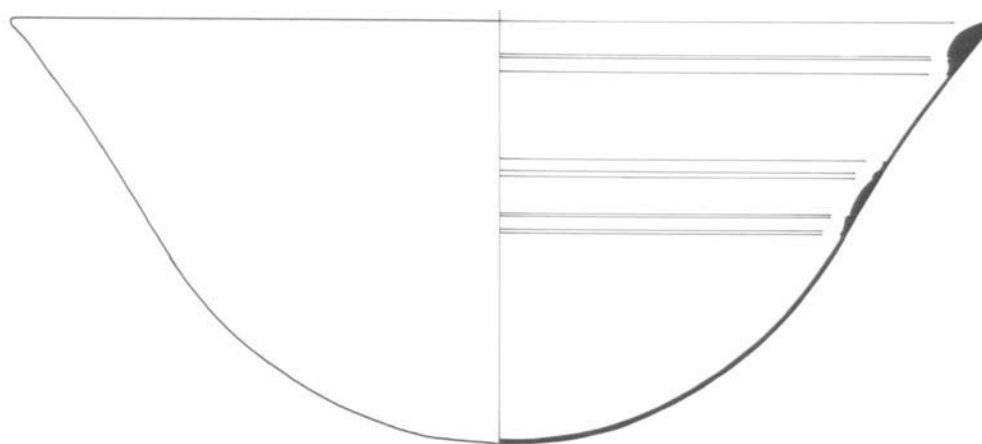


no. 20

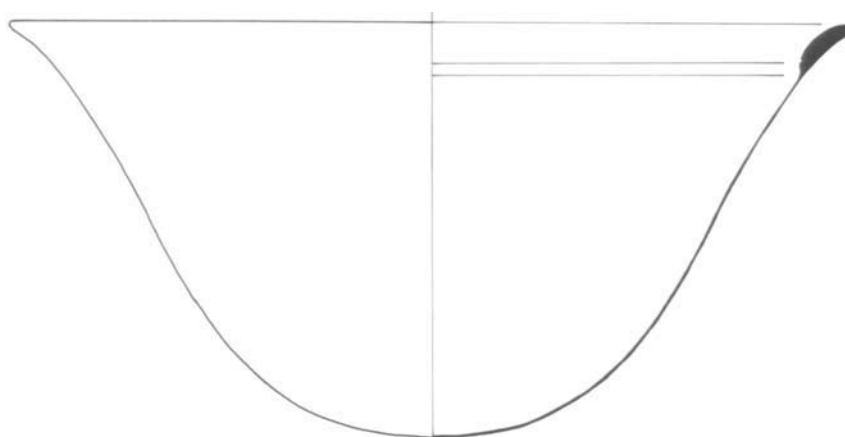


no. 21

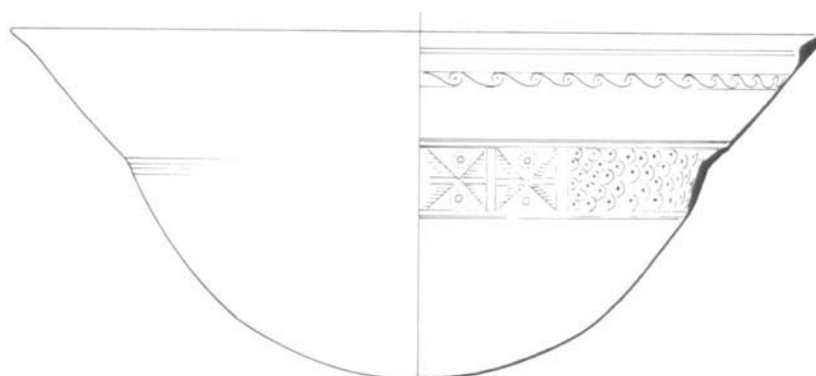




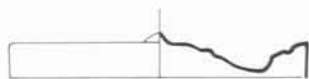
no. 22



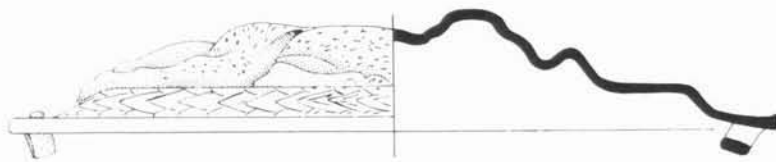
no. 23



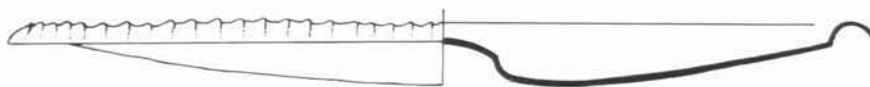
no. 24



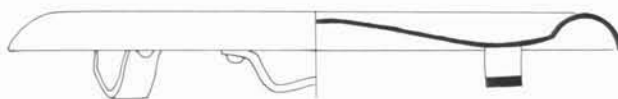
no. 29



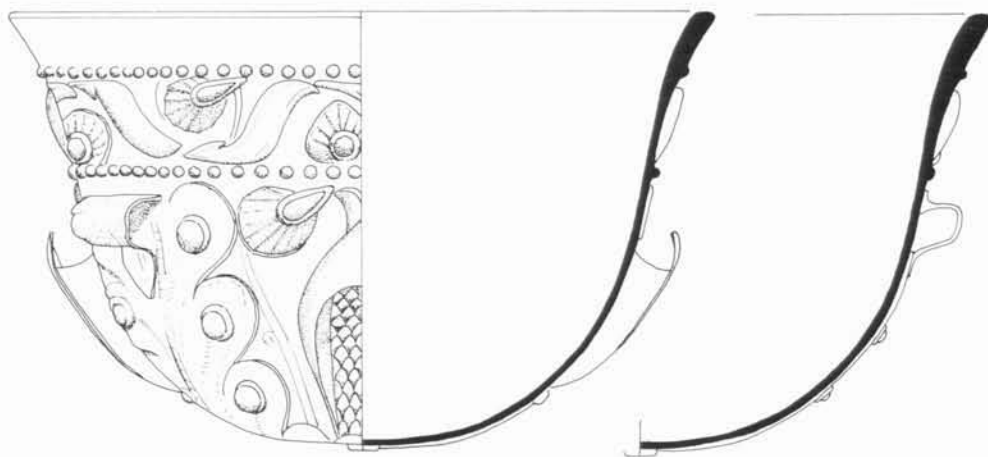
no. 31



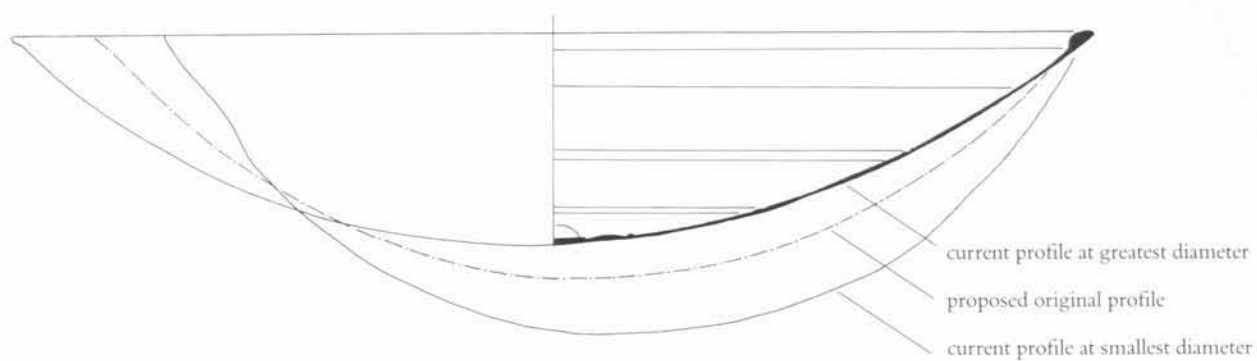
no. 34



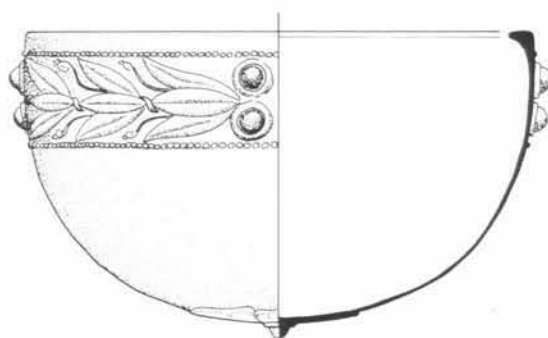
no. 36



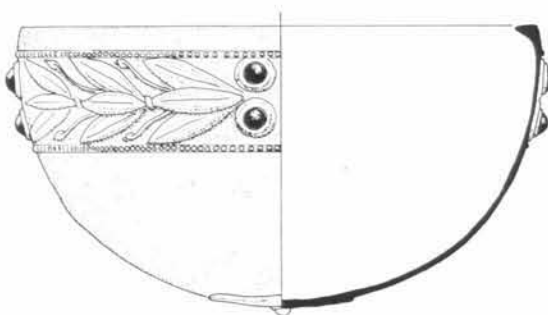
no. 67



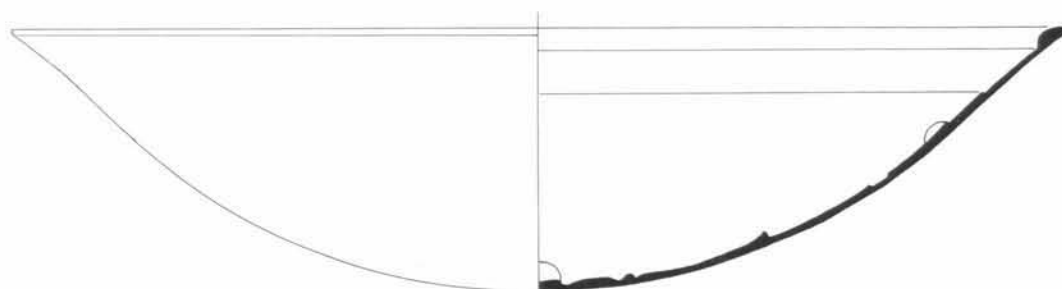
no. 68



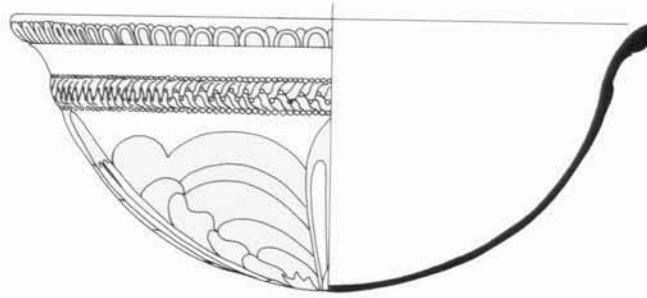
no. 69



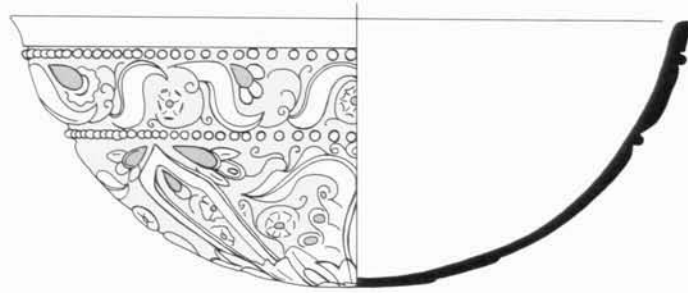
no. 70



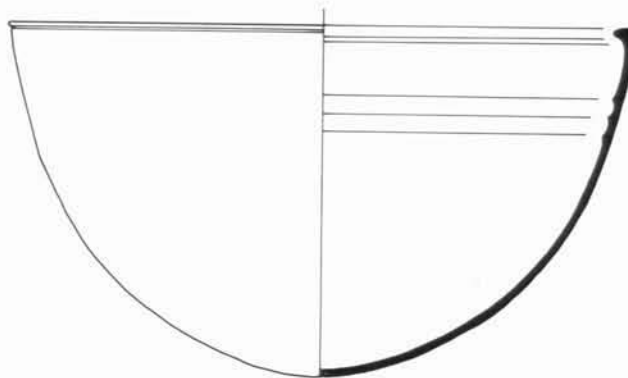
no. 72



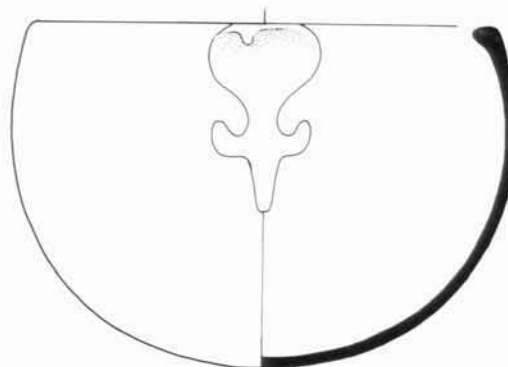
no. 75



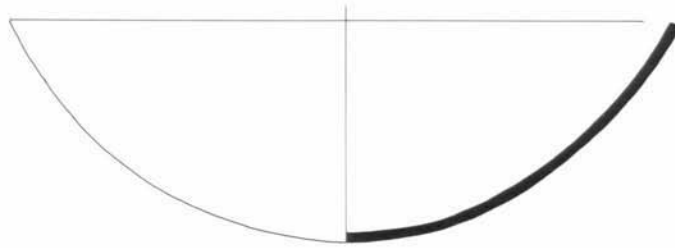
no. 76



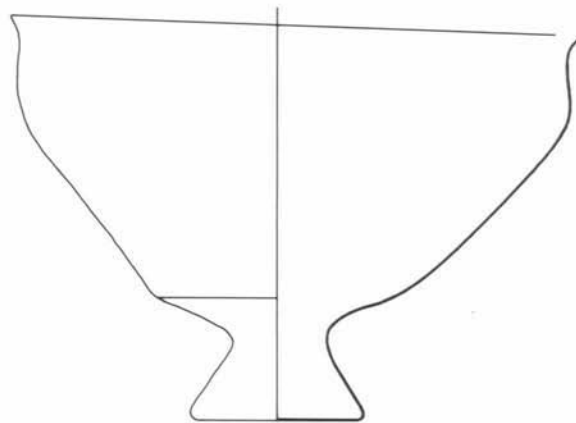
no. 77



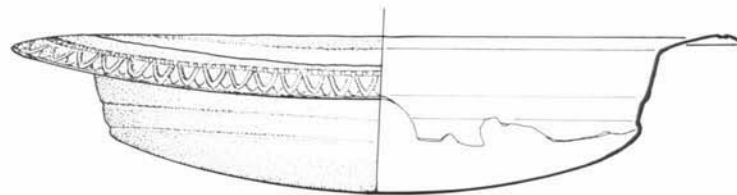
no. 78



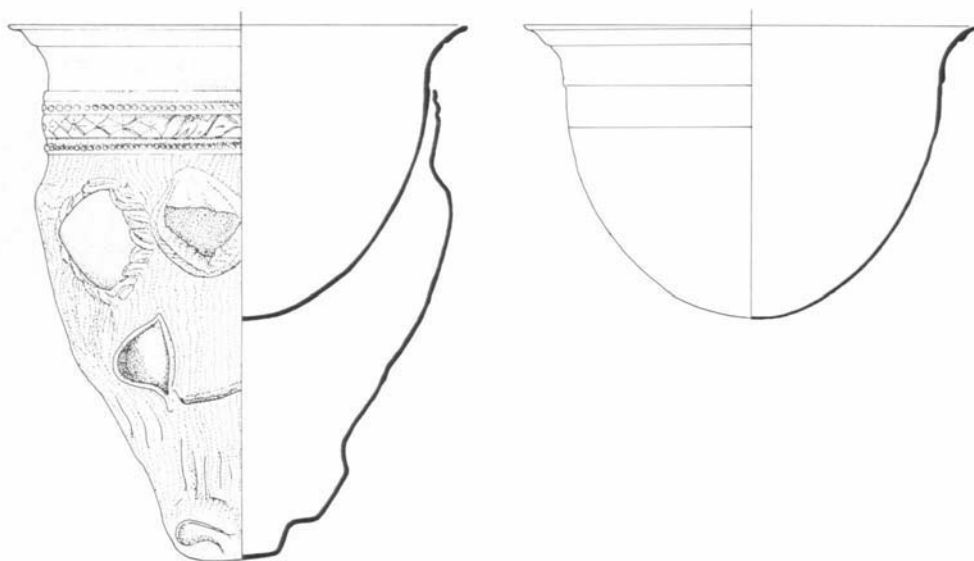
no. 79



no. 80



no. 127



no. 128

*This page intentionally left blank*

# INDEX

References are to the numbers of the notes to the main text (see pp. 69–99).

## Alexandria, Greek and Roman Museum

- JE 6740: stucco flower from Alexandria, n. 435
- JE 6741: stucco flower from Alexandria, n. 435
- JE 9815: terracotta rhyton, n. 520
- JE 10479: faience skyphos from Alexandria, n. 369
- JE 16696: fragment of a faience bowl from Alexandria, n. 204
- JE 16703: fragment of a faience bowl from Hadra, n. 204
- JE 17776: stucco flower from Alexandria, n. 435
- JE 25586: terracotta rhyton from Egypt, n. 514
- fragment of a faience bowl from the rue d'Aboukir, Alexandria n. 204
- terracotta horse head from Alexandria, n. 89

## Alexandria, private collection

- fragments of Megarian cups from Alexandria, n. 398

## Alma Ata, Museum of Archaeology

- gold-sheet appliqué from the Tenlik Kurgan, n. 26

## Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum

- 1976: faience bowl from Egypt, n. 204
- 1992: faience appliqué, n. 140
- 3397: vase MacGregor, nn. 447, 459
- 7011: bull's head earring, n. 100
- 7614: faience fragment, n. 371
- 7636: faience appliqué, n. 140

## Amsterdam, Collection R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer

- 581: faience elephant, nn. 30, 101

## Ancona Museum

- gold torque from Montefortino, n. 451

## Ankara Museum

- Achaemenid censer from İkiz Tepe near Uşak, n. 32

## Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum

- 14210 and 15678: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Seleucia on the Tigris, n. 4
- 15007 A, 16137: terracotta mold and medallion from Mesopotamia, n. 197
- 35716: seal impression from Seleucia on the Tigris, n. 224

## Art market

- Achaemenid seal, nn. 121, 124
- bracelet with large, vessel-shaped pendants, n. 791
- ram's head vase, n. 814
- silver bull rhyton, n. 821
- silver cup from Uşak in Asia Minor, n. 565

## Athens, Agora Museum

- P 1495: bowl from the Athenian Agora, n. 671
- P 15027: clay guttus from the Athenian Agora, n. 457

## Athens, National Museum and Epigraphic Museum

- grave stele, nn. 272, 294

## Athens, National Museum

- loutrophoroi, n. 422

## Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum

- 140, 246, 253: gold appliqué from Asia Minor (?), n. 366
- 291: gold appliqué, n. 134
- pendants, n. 501
- silver kylix, n. 357

## Athens, National Museum

- medallions from Carpenisi, Thessaly, n. 188

## Athens, Piraeus Museum

- grave stele, n. 295

## Baghdad Museum

- terracotta statuette of a horseman from Seleucia on the Tigris, n. 4
- pendants from Seleucia on the Tigris, n. 731

## Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

- 48.367: faience bowl, nn. 204, 371
- bronze bust of Ptolemy I from Tarentum, n. 190

## Basel, Antikenmuseum

- BS 464: Apulian krater by the Baltimore Painter, n. 328
- silver prometopidion from Tarentum, n. 57

## Basel, Collection H. Erlenmeyer

- terracotta appliqué from Tarentum, n. 42

## Bergama Museum

- marble slab from Pergamon, n. 442

## Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz,

### Antikensammlung

- 29x: silver cup, n. 418
- 1967.3: pyxis from Asia Minor, n. 804
- 3779.5–6; 3779.9; 3779.10–14; 3779.62/63: silver vessels from the Hildesheim Treasure, n. 804
- 7806: handle attachment from a hydria from Epiros, n. 784
- 8180: fragments of a silver vase (amphora rhyton?) from the area near Lake Van, nn. 355, 610
- 8616: silver unguentarium, n. 447
- 11863, 100 D–F: appliqué, n. 136
- 11863, 108: appliqué depicting birds or eagles from South Russia, n. 120
- 30219, 378: wreath from the Pangaion in Macedonia, n. 451
- 30221 S1–14: appliqué depicting deer from the Maikop complex, n. 119
- 30221 u: appliqué with quatrefoil star-shaped blossoms from Maikop, n. 706
- 30584: bronze bowl from the Maikop complex, n. 565
- 30981: silver bowl from Italy, n. 414
- 31330: earrings from northern India (Punjab), nn. 145, 156
- 31425: silver cup from the Nihavend Treasure, nn. 302, 360
- Misc. 7366 (= GI 372): gold appliqué with female scroll goddess from South Russia, n. 161
- Misc. 7839: golden fish from Vetersfelde, nn. 44, 242



- Misc. 11863, 117/118: appliqués with stars from South Russia, n. 734  
 Misc. 11863, 119: undecorated appliqués from South Russia n. 737  
 Misc. 30219, 1095: gold button (from harness) from Zubov's Barrow, n. 750  
 Misc. 30595 a.b: plaques from the Kuban area (Maikop), n. 56  
 Achaemenid seal, n. 121  
 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum  
 7050: terracotta reliefs from Tanagra, n. 86  
 female portrait bust from Pergamon, n. 186  
 Pergamon altar, nn. 192, 199  
 relief from Pergamon, lion on the back of a bull, nn. 42, 63  
 weapons frieze from the sanctuary of Athena Polias in Pergamon, nn. 87, 88, 138, 376  
 Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum  
 VA 3163: seal impression from Uruk Warka, n. 224  
 VA 6190: seal impression from Uruk Warka, n. 224  
 terracotta statuettes of horsemen from Aleppo and Syrian art markets, n. 4  
 Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum  
 terracotta statuette of a mounted boy from Olbia (?), n. 75  
 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts  
 03.1003: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 13.231: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 48.253: silver cup, n. 415  
 60.535: silver bowl from Sinope, n. 623  
 1974.138: silver alabastron, nn. 420, 446  
 1980.382: appliqué with Zeus on an eagle from Iran or Afghanistan, n. 138  
 1981.82: silver bowl from Iran, nn. 209, 359  
 medallions from horse trappings from Tarentum, n. 179  
 Brooklyn Museum, *see* New York  
 Brummer, Ernest, Collection  
 marble loutrophoros, nn. 287, 422  
 Brussels, Musées Royaux  
 E 8034: silver cup, n. 368  
 Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum  
 M-28: siren handle from a bronze hydria, n. 157  
 Cairo, Egyptian Museum  
 33104-9: wooden sarcophagus from Memphis, n. 172  
 JE 38093: griffin rhyton from Tuch el-Karamus, nn. 512, 759, 765  
 JE 38096: silver cup from Tuch el-Karamus, n. 462  
 JE 38115: silver plate from Tuch el-Karamus, n. 603  
 JE 36460: bronze cup, nn. 391, 590  
 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum  
 E.2/509.1954: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 Chicago, Museum of the Oriental Institute  
 A 4066: seal impression with anchor, n. 224  
 A 29788: bracelet from Syria, nn. 293, 411  
 Cincinnati Art Museum  
 1960.495: horse's head vase, n. 817  
 Cleveland Museum of Art  
 Sasanian silver rhyton, nn. 11, 191, 739  
 Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum  
 gold bracelet in "Siberian style," nn. 742, 792  
 Columbia, University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology  
 77.198: gold-glass cup from Iran, n. 400  
 Constantine Museum  
 parts of a kline from Es Soumaa, El Khroub n. 171  
 Copenhagen, National Museum  
 778: bronze cista from Palestrina, n. 372  
 15095: silver alabastron from Asia Minor, n. 598  
 terracotta statuette of a horseman, n. 4  
 Corning, New York, Corning Museum of Glass  
 71.1.5: gold-glass cup, n. 383  
 Cracow, Museum  
 XI-443 (formerly Collection Czartoryski):  
 silver medallion from Syria, nn. 52, 330, 338  
 Cureglia, Lugano, Collection Frhr. H. v. Schoen  
 terracotta appliqués from Tarentum, n. 42  
 Damascus Museum  
 7157: carnelian pendant with lion's head finials from Emesa, n. 491  
 7159: medallion from Emesa, Tomb 11, n. 185  
 7160: medallion from Emesa, Tomb 11, n. 185  
 7204: buckle from Emesa, n. 694  
 7218: fibula from Emesa, n. 324  
 10436: medallion from Emesa, Tomb 11, n. 185  
 10437: medallion from Emesa, Tomb 11, n. 185  
 Delphi Museum  
 gold appliqué, n. 133  
 Dresden, Albertinum  
 Zg.-Vz. 791: medallion from Zagazig in Egypt, n. 185  
 Dushanbe Museum  
 earring with sphinx from the area of Dushanbe, nn. 145, 156  
 phalera from the area of Dushanbe, n. 27  
 Essen, Museum Folkwang  
 RE 86: terracotta bowl, n. 203  
 Florence, Museo Archeologico  
 84806: Etruscan mirror from Bomarzo, n. 355  
 Frankfurt, art market  
 lynx phalera, n. 6  
 Frolov Collection  
 wooden appliqué, n. 127  
 Geneva Museum  
 65/20272: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 Gordion Museum  
 3165 G 172: glass cup from Gordion, n. 585  
 Gubbio Museum  
 224: capital with trident and dolphin, n. 260  
 Guennol Collection  
 silver bowl from Mazandaran, n. 210  
 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe  
 1969.113: silver bowl from Luristan, nn. 206, 438  
 Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum  
 1917.825: handle from a bronze hydria, n. 159

- Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum  
1949.89: bronze hydria, probably from the island of Chalke, n. 155
- Heidelberg, Sammlung der Universität  
wooden Ptolemaic sarcophagus from Abusir, n. 346
- Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum  
1109/10: plaster cast from Memphis/Mit Rahine, n. 52  
1115: plaster cast (prometopidion) from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 57  
1117: plaster cast of a medallion from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 180  
1118: plaster cast of a medallion from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 180  
1121: plaster cast of a medallion from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 180  
1134: plaster cast from Memphis Mit Rahine, nn. 446, 590  
1138: plaster cast of a medallion from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 180  
1142: plaster cast from Memphis/Mit Rahine, n. 52  
1145: plaster cast (prometopidion) from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 57  
1148: plaster cast (prometopidion) from Memphis/Mit Rahine n. 57  
1153: plaster cast of a medallion bowl from Memphis/Mit Rahine, n. 776  
2379: plaster cast from Memphis/Mit Rahine, n. 337  
2952: plaster cast from Memphis/Mit Rahine, n. 52
- Houghton, A., Collection  
Seleucid coins, nn. 222, 226–229, 382
- Istanbul, Archaeological Museum  
2263: marble horse's head from Lindos, n. 91  
4521: Achaemenid gem from Sardis, n. 164  
4530: asymmetrical pendant from Sardis, n. 484  
4652: gold appliqué from Sardis, n. 122  
4653: gold appliqué from Sardis, n. 121  
Achaemenid seal from Sardis, n. 124  
Alexander sarcophagus, nn. 96, 287  
Lagina frieze, n. 99  
terracotta from Nippur, n. 197
- Kabul Museum  
57.77: bronze bowl from Begram, n. 777  
58.1.201: elephant with trappings on an ivory carving from Begram, n. 94  
appliqués, gold disks, from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 2–4, 6, n. 699  
appliqués, gold nymphaea calyxes, from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 1 and 2, n. 723  
appliqués, quatrefoil ivy chalices, from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 2, n. 702  
appliqués, undecorated, from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 2 and 3, n. 736  
appliqués with stars from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 2, n. 730  
belt hooks from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 3, nn. 687, 690  
bracelets with “trumpet-shaped ends” from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 2, 3, 5, 6, n. 679  
buckle from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 4, n. 117  
buttons (from harness), from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 4, nn. 752, 754  
calyx from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 3, nn. 455, 644  
clasps from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 3, n. 387  
coin of Tiberius from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 3, n. 675  
deities with “dolphins” from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 1–3, 6, n. 245  
golden “plants” from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 2, 4, n. 747  
necklace with double crescents from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 5, n. 571  
pendants from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 2, n. 693  
rosettes from Tillya-tepe, Tombs 1, 2, n. 325  
stepped embattlement appliqués from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 2, n. 413  
sword sheath from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 4, nn. 267, 313  
torque with “trumpet-shaped ends” from Tillya-tepe, Tomb 3, n. 675
- Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Gallery  
35–37/2: silver bowls from Mazandaran, n. 210
- Kassel Museum  
561: Apulian pelike, n. 280
- Kayseri Museum  
silver container, n. 805
- Kiev, Museum of Historical Treasures  
AZS 2273: earring with sphinx from the Three Brothers Kurgan, n. 142  
AZS 2493: gold scabbard from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), n. 42  
AZS 2494: pectoral from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), n. 58  
appliqués with female scroll goddess, n. 161  
appliqués with sphinxes from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), n. 141  
appliqués with stars from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), n. 734  
bronze basin from Pishchane, n. 160  
bronze hydria from Pishchane, nn. 152, 153, 158, 160  
bronze situla from Pishchane, n. 160  
golden fish from Volkovtsy, n. 243  
medallions from horse trappings from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), nn. 174, 177  
prometopidion from Tolstaja Mogila (Ordzhonikidze), n. 163
- La Haye, Cabinet royal des médailles  
1378, 1412, 1432, 1441–43, 1481: clay bullae, n. 197
- Lahore Museum  
116, 2340: Gandharan reliefs, n. 9
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum  
phalerae from Raermond, n. 25
- Leningrad, *see* St. Petersburg
- Liverpool, City Museum  
M 8691: Achaemenid seal, n. 121
- Loo, C. T., Collection  
bronze plaque, attacking animal group, n. 111
- London, British Museum  
56–9–3, 122: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Nimrud, n. 4  
1857.12–20.238: marble horse from the mausoleum in Halicarnassus, n. 173  
1887.4–2.1: Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus from

- Chiusi, n. 307  
 1908.4–10.2: fulcrum, n. 189  
 1927.11–17.1 (= 124097): buckle from the Nihavend Treasure, n. 117  
 1963.10–12.1 (= 134303): silver bowl from Iran, n. 208  
 1966.10–14.1 (134879): silver bowl, nn. 201, 583  
 1982.10–5.28: terracotta relief from Canosa, n. 85  
 191908: terracotta relief from Babylonia, n. 4  
 115534 (WA): Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 123908: golden chariot from the Oxus Treasure, nn. 37, 745  
 123909: golden horse from the Oxus Treasure, n. 90  
 123912: golden stag from the Oxus Treasure, nn. 61, 745  
 123914: golden stag from the Oxus Treasure, nn. 61, 745  
 123917: golden fish from the Oxus Treasure, n. 244  
 123924: winged lion-griffin from the Oxus Treasure, n. 757  
 123926: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123927: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, nn. 122, 127, 148  
 123928: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, nn. 125, 147  
 123929: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 127  
 123934: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 127  
 123941: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123942: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 244  
 123943: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123947: horse from the Oxus Treasure, n. 37  
 123950: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123972: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123976: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123994: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 123995: gold appliqué from the Oxus Treasure, n. 137  
 124006: gold ring from the Oxus Treasure, n. 121  
 124063: gold appliqué (of a buckle) from the Oxus Treasure, n. 138  
 124081: griffin rhyton from Erzinjan, n. 512  
 124084: gold button (from harness), n. 751  
 124097 (= 1927.11–17.1)  
 134303 (= 1963.10–12.1)  
 134304: bowl from Mazandaran, n. 358  
 134740: cup, nn. 203, 410  
 134879 (= 1966.10–14.1)  
 135125: glass vial, n. 495  
 135684: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Syria(?), n. 4  
 O.A. 1900.2–9.1: gold reliquary from Begram, n. 645  
 O.A. 1916–8–3.1: bronze plaque, attacking animal group, n. 111  
 Gandharan sculpture, n. 494  
 Gnathian kantharos from Melos, n. 375  
 hydria from Telos, n. 784  
 relief from Xanthos, nn. 41, 43  
 London, Victoria and Albert Museum  
 Gandharan relief, n. 9  
 jewelry with dolphins from Taxila, nn. 249, 319  
 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional  
 28454: cup from Santisteban del Puerto, nn. 282, 287, 336  
 28466: silver cup from Santisteban del Puerto, n. 417  
 33.104: bronze statuette of a horseman, n. 108  
 Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum  
 o.38876: silver cup from Armenia, n. 302  
 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum  
 55.AA.10: statue of a crouching Aphrodite, n. 787  
 72.AI.33: crane bowl, n. 804  
 75.AI.54 and 75.AI.55: silver skyphoi from Lebanon, n. 804  
 80.AC.84: bronze basin, n. 660  
 83.AE.319: terracotta rhyton, nn. 383, 520  
 Mathura Museum  
 statue of Castana, nn. 701, 716, 738  
 Meggen, Lucerne, Collection R. Käppeli  
 terracotta appliques from Tarentum, n. 42  
 Mihailowgrad Museum  
 37, 38, 39, 46: conical silver cups from Yakimovo, n. 469  
 Moscow, Historical Museum  
 4889: glass skyphos from Siverskaja Staniza, n. 732  
 4890: glass skyphos from Siverskaja Staniza, nn. 722, 732  
 silver phaleræ from Siverskaja Staniza, nn. 21, 25  
 Moscow, Pushkin Museum  
 2514: faience fragment, n. 371  
 Munich, Antikensammlungen  
 4336; 4337: silver cups from the Fayum, nn. 322, 643  
 4338: medallion plate from the Fayum, n. 772  
 A 1398: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
 SL 661c: medallion from Nihavend, n. 633  
 gold wreath from Armento, n. 304  
 grave stele, n. 295  
 plaster cast, n. 794  
 Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung  
 gem with trident and dolphin n. 260  
 Naples, Museo Nazionale  
 13521: cameo amphora from Pompeii, n. 544  
 24887: necklace from S. Agata dei Goti (Saticula), n. 497  
 25284/85: bowls from Civit  Castellana, nn. 324, 570, 592, 618, 802  
 B 3250: Lucanian amphora, n. 317  
 C.S. 366: terracotta appliques from Tarentum, n. 42  
 H 3219: Apulian red-figure amphora, n. 266  
 Alexander mosaic from Pompeii, nn. 84, 243  
 capital from Pompeii, n. 260  
 New Haven, Yale University, Babylonian Collection  
 2992: terracotta statuette of a woman on horseback, n. 4  
 New York, Brooklyn Museum  
 48.29: faience rhyton, n. 511  
 54.5035–37: silver bowls from Pithom, Egypt, n. 565  
 59.33.1: faience appliqué, n. 140  
 68.19: faience appliqué, n. 140  
 70.142.13 (L. 48.7.12): silver bowl from the Nihavend Treasure, nn. 321, 360  
 New York, H. Kevorkian Collection

- gold antelope rhyton, n. 812
- New York, Kouchakij Collection (formerly)  
silver cup, n. 418
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
06.1021.122: red-figure pyxis, n. 367  
06.1127; 06.1128: medallions from horse trappings from Elis, n. 178  
09.221.12: bronze hydria, n. 152  
17.190.1672: gold buckle, n. 695  
17.190.2055: buckle from the Nihavend Treasure, n. 117  
22.40.2: silver cup from Olbia, nn. 355, 451, 460, 613, 616  
23.160.76: gold-glass fragment, nn. 375, 414  
37.11.11–12: bracelets from the region of Thessaloníki, n. 402  
47.100.87: horse's head vase, silver, n. 815  
56.142.1: gazelle's head vase, terracotta, from Ziwiye, n. 808  
1972.118.163: silver bowl from Prusias, Bithynia, n. 312  
1979.447: lynx rhyton, silver, n. 524  
1980.11.12: Achaemenid censer from Ikiz Tepe near Usak, n. 32  
1981.11.16: silver net pattern cup from Magna Graecia, n. 587  
1981.11.19: silver bowl from Magna Graecia, nn. 203, 348, 357, 416, 420  
1981.11.20: silver bowl from Magna Graecia, nn. 203, 357, 420, 461  
1981.11.21: silver bowl from Magna Graecia, nn. 203, 419, 420, 439  
1982.11.11A–C: silver pyxis from Magna Graecia, n. 804  
1984.11.3: silver pyxis from Magna Graecia, n. 804  
L 1983.119.41: gold button (from harness), n. 751  
L 1984.41.4: silver bowl from Asia Minor, n. 565  
appliqués, gold, with deer from the Maikop complex, n. 119  
appliqués, gold, with quatrefoil star-shaped blossoms from the Maikop complex, n. 706  
appliqués, gold, with stars, n. 735  
diadem from Madytos, n. 186  
Gandharan relief, n. 9  
rhyton with winged lion, gold, from Hamadan, nn. 511, 527
- New York, Pomerance Collection  
bronze plaque, attacking animal group, n. 111  
medallion plate, silver, n. 773  
ram's head vase, silver, from Kaplantu, northwestern Iran, n. 811
- New York, Dolores Selikowitz Collection  
ram's head vase from Iran, n. 811  
silver sheet from the Dalaiman region of Iran, n. 43
- Nikosia, Cyprus Museum  
K 523: terracotta animal rhyton, n. 536
- Odessa Museum  
52916: silver net pattern cup, n. 586
- Olympia Museum  
terracotta plate with medallion, n. 771
- Oxford, Ashmolean Museum  
1885.471: undecorated appliqués from Nymphaion, n. 737  
1913.454: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Ain el-Beda, Syria, n. 4  
1913.676: bronze bowl from Deve Hüyük, n. 565  
1913.793: faience cup, nn. 445, 471  
1971.895: silver medallion, perhaps from Antioch or Anatolia, n. 185  
1976.70: silver alabastron from Asia Minor, n. 598  
1976.76: silver cup from Syria (?), n. 565
- Ortiz, George, Collection  
silver stag's head rhyton, n. 539
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale  
1248: Tarentine rhyton, n. 45  
5069: Achaemenid seal, n. 121  
Chabouillet 2877: silver cup, n. 418  
M 5990: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
M 6560: Achaemenid seal with sphinx, n. 148  
M 6598: Achaemenid seal, n. 121  
de Luynes 198: Achaemenid seal, n. 122  
phalerae from South Russia with Mithridates inscription, n. 25  
Sasanian silver plate, n. 11
- Paris, Musée Cernuchi  
anchor ("Ordos art"), n. 238
- Paris, Musée Guimet  
MG. 18509: Gandharan relief(?), n. 9  
appliqué with bird or eagle (Ordos group), n. 120  
Gandharan sculpture, nn. 320, 494, 502, 726
- Paris, Musée du Louvre  
A.O. 2196: Palmyrene relief, n. 198  
A.O. 2748: fragments of a silver vase from the area near Lake Van, n. 355  
A.O. 3093: silver rhyton from the area of Erzurum, n. 539  
A.O. 10221: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Palestine, n. 4  
A.O. 27909: silver ram's head vase from Ziwiye, n. 811  
Bj 2034: silver ladle from Boscoreale, n. 580  
Bj 2217: silver kylix, nn. 285, 350  
Bj 2226: silver rhyton, n. 24  
CA 2340: terracotta blossom from Amisos, n. 313  
N. 1000: faience rhyton, n. 511  
Sb 2757: silver bowl from Susa, n. 565  
pendants and stones mounted in gold from Susa, nn. 496, 501  
terracotta statuette of a horseman from Cappadocia, n. 4
- Pella Museum  
stone bowl from Pella, nn. 67, 429  
tabletop from Pella, nn. 275, 286, 308, 313
- Peshawar Museum  
16: Gandharan relief, n. 9  
452 M: bronze reliquary, n. 645  
1719: Gandharan relief, n. 9  
1847: Gandharan relief, n. 320  
gold bracelet of "Siberian style," n. 742

- Petra Museum  
bust of a woman from Petra, n. 194
- Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum  
Babylonian Section 12284: terracotta from Nippur, n. 197  
Babylonian Section 15487: terracotta statuette of a horseman from Nippur, n. 4  
Babylonian Section 15452: terracotta from Nippur, n. 197  
Nippur B. 2349: Achaemenid glass cup from Nippur, n. 301  
appliqués, gold, with deer, from the Maikop complex, n. 119  
appliqués, gold, with female scroll goddess, n. 161
- Plovdiv Museum  
1517: horse rhyton from Bashova Mogila, nn. 513, 527
- Princeton, University Art Museum  
54-124: bronze bowl, n. 565  
plaster cast (prometopidion), n. 57
- Private possession  
bronze bowl, n. 565  
bronze plate, from Galaxidhi, n. 779  
bracelet, Tarentine, n. 287  
pendant found southwest of the Caspian Sea, n. 492  
silver net pattern cup, n. 587  
silver plate, nn. 6, 207
- Pylos Museum  
177: glass cup from Pylos, n. 470
- Reggio di Calabria Museum  
gold-glass bowl from Tresilico, n. 776
- Rome, Villa Albani  
figural capital, n. 234
- Rome, Villa Giulia  
terracotta decorations from the temple "Lo Scasato" in Falerii, n. 347
- Rothschild Collection  
gold-glass cup from Syria, n. 434  
silver kantharos from Tarentum, n. 431  
silver pyxis from Tarentum, nn. 431, 796  
silver thymiaterion from Tarentum, nn. 275, 774
- Russe, Historical Museum  
11-359: silver bull rhyton from the Borowo Treasure, n. 818
- Ruvo, Museo Jatta  
J. 423: Apulian amphora, n. 295  
J. 1372: Apulian situla, nn. 295, 317  
J. 1613: Apulian plate, n. 328
- Samsun Museum  
group with lions felling a stag, n. 42
- Santa Barbara Museum of Art  
78.4.11: marble horse's head, n. 89
- Schaffhausen, Museum zu Allerheiligen  
cameo, n. 545
- Schimmel, Norbert, Collection  
silver rhyton, n. 538
- Smith, Ray Winfield, Collection  
glass, n. 392
- Sofia, Archaeological Museum  
51 bibl: silver cup from Varbitza, n. 418  
3559: harness from Panagyurishte, n. 1  
6453: gold appliqués with rosettes from Mal Tepe, n. 722  
6755: silver bowl from Sredna Mogila, n. 565  
8215, 8216: silver appliqués from Lukovit, Thrace, n. 42  
silver horse trappings from Panagyurishte, n. 176  
silver pectoral from Varbitza, n. 305
- St. Helens, Lancashire, Pilkington Glass Museum  
1974/21: gold-glass cup from Iran, n. 400
- St. Petersburg, Hermitage  
1727-1/1: gold buckles, attacking animal groups, nn. 112, 755  
1727-1/4: gold buckles, attacking animal groups, n. 112  
1727-1/5;1/6: gold belt clasps, nn. 691, 692, 758  
1727-1/11, 1727-1/12: gold buckles, attacking animal groups, n. 767  
1727-1/13: gold buckle, attacking animal group, n. 755  
1727-1/16: gold buckle, attacking animal group, n. 755  
1727-1/32, 1727-1/33, 1727-1/49, 1727-1/50, 1727-1/90, 1727-1/93, 1727-1/94, 1727-1/97, 1727-1/98, 1727-1/99: gold buttons (from harnesses), n. 751  
1727-1/100: gold buckle with zigzag ornament, n. 686  
1727-1/131: gold agraffe, nn. 112, 764  
1727-1/132: gold appliqué from Siberia, n. 26  
2495/17; 2495/28: appliqués depicting birds or eagles from the Kurdzhips Kurgan, n. 120  
AXT 18: silver phalerae from Akhtanizovka, nn. 17, 20, 25  
BB 44-46: gold appliqué from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 136  
BB 49: gold appliqués with female scroll goddess from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 161  
BB 72-74: wooden sarcophagus from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 45  
BB 77, 78: bracelets from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 478  
BB 78, 80: harness from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 1  
Dn 1763, 1/19, 20: sword sheath from the Melgunov Treasure nn. 141, 242  
Dn 1863, 1/257: appliqué with sphinx from Chertomlyk, n. 141  
Dn 1863, 1/166: silver amphora from Chertomlyk, nn. 24, 46, 58, 71, 272, 308, 318  
Dn 1863, 1/167: silver basin from Chertomlyk, nn. 161, 431, 603, 639  
Dn 1863, 1/374: appliqué from Chertomlyk, n. 136  
Dn 1863, 1/435: gorytus from Chertomlyk, nn. 58, 267  
Dn 1863, 1/448: sword from Chertomlyk, n. 58  
Dn 1868, 1/8-10: prometopidion and harness from Tsimbalka nn. 89, 163, 243  
Dn 1868, 1/31-33; prometopidion and harness from Tsimbalka, nn. 89, 243  
Dn 1897, 5/2: pendant with sphinx from the Deev Kurgan, n. 142  
Dn 1909, 2/43: silver kylix from Chmyreva Mogila, n. 291  
Dn 1912, 1/42-44: prometopidia from Solokha, n. 243  
Dn 1913, 1/24: silver vase from Solokha, n. 143

- Dn 1912,1/42-47: gold prometopidion from Solokha, n. 89
- Dn 1913,1/40: silver vase from Solokha, n. 24
- Dn 1913,1/48: gold bowl from Solokha, n. 58
- Dn 1913,1/49,51: gorytus from Solokha, nn. 46, 58
- GK/N-21,22: appliqué with sphinx from Nymphaion, Kurgan 17 n. 141
- Gp 1882.45: sarcophagus from Anapa, nn. 268, 296, 329, 334
- K 35636: gold-glass cup from Mozdok, nn. 399, 413
- Kek 9: wooden sarcophagus from Taman, nn. 43, 46
- K-O 3,4: bracelets from Kul Oba, n. 58
- K-O 5: pendants from Kul Oba, n. 292
- K-O 19: bracelets from Kul Oba, n. 142
- K-O 32, 33: sword scabbard from Kul Oba, n. 58
- K-O 46: gold appliqué from Kul Oba, nn. 71, 136
- K-O 48: gold appliqué from Kul Oba, n. 136
- K-O 50: gold appliqué from Kul Oba, n. 136
- K-O 51: gold appliqué from Kul Oba, n. 136
- K-O 70: gold appliqués with female scroll goddess from Kul Oba, n. 161
- K-O 97: silver vase from Kul Oba, nn. 43, 58
- K-O 120: golden stag from Kul Oba, n. 50
- Kr 1892,2/10: appliqué from Dort Oba, Kurgan 2, n. 141
- Ku 1876,1/9: rhyton from Merdzany, nn. 24, 195, 517
- Ku 1888,1/78: rhyton from Karagodeuashkh, nn. 267, 272, 328
- Ku 1897,1/1: golden stag from Kostromskaja, n. 50
- Ku 1903,1/27: mirror from Kelermes, n. 141
- P 1836.4: bronze hydria from Kul Oba (?), n. 160
- SBr IV-3: goat rhyton from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, nn. 513, 527
- SBr IV-5: gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, n. 58
- SBr IV-7: gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, nn. 42, 58
- SBr IV-8: gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, n. 128
- SBr IV-117: gold appliqué from Kurgan 4 of the Seven Brothers Group, n. 115
- SBr VI-2: appliqué with sphinx from Kurgan 6 of the Seven Brothers Group, n. 141
- SI-247, 1124/19: buttons (from harnesses) from Minusinsk n. 751
- St. 1858: red-figure lekanis, n. 367
- Z-546, Z-547: golden statuettes of animals, n. 746
- Z-548: golden statuette of a horseman, nn. 37, 746
- Z-550: golden statuette of an animal, n. 746
- Z-556: golden statuette of a stag, nn. 61, 745, 746
- Z-559, Z-585: golden statuettes of animals, n. 746
- Zm 1: sarcophagus from Zmeinyj (Kerch), n. 341
- Achaemenid seal, n. 124
- Anapa, finds from, n. 79
- appliqués, gold, from Akhtanizovka, n. 195
- appliqués, gold, with birds (eagles?) from Akhtanizovka, n. 120
- appliqués, gold, with birds (eagles?) from Chmyreva Mogila n. 120
- appliqués, gold, with birds (eagles?) from the Great Bliznitsa (1868), n. 120
- appliqués, gold, with birds (eagles?) from Karagodeuashkh n. 120
- appliqués, gold, with birds (eagles?) from the Oguz Kurgan, n. 120
- appliqués, gold, with female scroll goddess from Chersonesos, n. 161
- appliqués, gold, with floral cross from Akhtanizovka, n. 710
- appliqués, gold, with floral cross from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 710
- appliqués, gold, with rosettes from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 722
- appliqués, gold, with sphinxes from the Great Bliznitsa, n. 124
- appliqués, gold, with sphinxes from Kul Oba, n. 141
- appliqués, gold, with stars from Akhtanizovka, n. 734
- appliqués, gold, from Merdzany, n. 195
- appliqué, silver, from Pazyryk, Tomb 2, n. 135
- "appliqués," textile, with quatrefoil chalices from Pazyryk, Tomb 5, n. 704
- appliqués, wooden, from bridles from Pazyryk, n. 760
- appliqué with Athena from Akhtanizovka (prometopidion or fibula), n. 81
- appliqués, silver, with nymphaea-like foliage from Noin Ula, n. 725
- appliqués with quatrefoil ivy chalices from Noin Ula, n. 703
- belt hooks from Noin Ula, n. 687
- blossom, palmette-like, filled, from Pazyryk, n. 712
- bowl, silver, from Bori (Georgia), n. 358
- buckle found in the northern Pontic region, n. 47
- bull calf rhyta, silver, from the northern Pontic region n. 822
- buttons (from harnesses), gold, from the Kurdzhips Kurgan, n. 750
- buttons (from harnesses), gold, from Noin Ula, n. 753
- buttons (from harnesses), wood, from Pazyryk, n. 749
- buttons (from harnesses), gold, from Zubov's Barrow, nn. 750, 754
- conical cup, silver, from Akhtanizovka, n. 468
- cup, gold, from western Siberia (or Transcaucasia), nn. 287, 338, 355, 451, 460, 616
- curvilinear ornament from Pazyryk, Tomb 3, n. 698
- disk, silver, from Noin Ula, Kurgan 6, n. 7
- eagle attacking a goat (?), leather, from Pazyryk, Tomb 2, n. 766
- eagle-griffin from Pazyryk, n. 770
- fabulous beings with bird heads from Pazyryk, Tomb 2, n. 767
- fibula, gold, from Kerch, n. 374
- finial for a post with quatrefoil ivy chalyx from Noin Ula n. 703
- fish tattooed on body of deceased in Pazyryk, n. 247
- helmet from Akhtanizovka, n. 195
- helmet from Merdzany, n. 195
- hooved animals with birds' heads from Pazyryk, n. 756
- jug, silver, from Kerch, Panticapeum, n. 408

- medallion from horse trappings from Karagodeuashkh, n. 176
- medallion from South Russia, n. 185
- medallions from horse trappings from Vasjurinskaja Gora, n. 177
- phalerae, silver, from Fedulovo/Cherkassy, nn. 19, 25, 349
- phalerae, silver, from Janchekrak, n. 25
- phalerae, silver, from Novouzensk, n. 25
- phalerae, silver, from Uspenskaja Staniza, n. 56
- phalerae, silver, from Siberia, n. 26
- phalerae, silver, with elephants, n. 27
- phiale, gold, from Central Asia, n. 604
- phiale, silver, from Central Asia, n. 604
- plaques, wood, from Pazyryk, n. 36
- ram's head vase, silver, from western Siberia, n. 814
- saddle decoration with attacking animal groups from Pazyryk, nn. 42, 48, 51, 53–55, 58, 109
- Sasanian silver vessels, nn. 11, 311
- seal, Achaemenid, n. 122
- scroll ornament from Pazyryk, Grave 2, n. 651
- textiles, attacking animal groups from Noin Ula, n. 110
- textile, Hellenistic, from Noin Ula, Kurgan 6, nn. 7, 341, 388
- textiles in zigzag form from Noin Ula, n. 683
- textile from Pazyryk (ram's head surrounded by a griffin comb), n. 71
- textile with floral cross from Noin Ula, n. 715
- textile with floral cross from Pazyryk, Tomb 5, n. 709
- textiles with male portraits from Noin Ula, nn. 720, 744
- textiles with representation of appliqués from Pazyryk, n. 708
- textiles with representations of fish from Noin Ula, n. 248
- vase, gold, from western Siberia, n. 358
- wall hanging from Pazyryk (horsemen), Tomb 5, nn. 35, 38
- wall hanging from Pazyryk (sphinx), Tomb 5, nn. 38, 144, 758
- Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet
- MM 1974:37: silver cup, n. 302
- Stockholm, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
- pendant from inner Mongolia, n. 694
- bronze plaque, attacking animal group, n. 111
- bronze plaque with zigzag ornament, n. 685
- rhomboid bronze plaque (Ordos group), n. 80
- Switzerland, private collections
- silver bowl, n. 205
- silver rhyton, n. 539
- Taranto, Museo Nazionale
- 2.407: gold earrings from Ginosa, n. 183
- 22.437: gold diadem from the "Tomba degli ori" in Canosa, n. 649
- 40.058: gold-glass cup from the "Tomba degli ori" in Canosa, nn. 383, 414, 649
- Gnathian bowl, n. 648
- Taxila Museum
- appliqué, gold, with nymphaea-like foliage, n. 724
- appliqués with rosettes from Taxila, nn. 319, 434
- appliqués with stepped embattlement, gold, from Taxila, n. 413
- bowl, silver, with inscription from Taxila, n. 678
- bracelets, gold, with "trumpet-shaped ends" from Taxila, nn. 680, 681
- buckles, copper, from Taxila, nn. 138, 646
- conical cup, silver, from Taxila, n. 466
- earrings, gold, from Taxila, n. 319
- jewelry, gold, with dolphins and rosettes from Taxila, nn. 249, 454
- medallion with carnelian in gold setting from Taxila, n. 792
- medallion, copper, from Taxila, n. 476
- necklace, gold, with double crescents from Taxila, nn. 571, 792
- phalera and horse trappings, iron and silver, from Taxila, n. 10
- tendrils decoration, copper, from Taxila, n. 335
- torques with "trumpet-shaped ends," gold, from Taxila, n. 676
- Teheran Archaeological Museum
- 2069: silver phiale from Ardebil, n. 324
- 2811: ivory comb from Susa, n. 126
- bronze head of a Parthian from Shami, n. 131
- bronze phalera from Hasanlu, n. 70
- female bust, n. 193
- gold antelope rhyton, n. 812
- gold rhyton with winged lion from Hamadan, nn. 511, 527
- terracotta ram's head rhyton from Ziwiye, n. 808
- Teheran, Foroughi Collection
- antelope rhyton, bronze, n. 812
- gold-glass bowl from Iran, nn. 204, 775
- Thessaloniki Museum
- 115: krater from Olynthos, n. 367
- 5223: hydria from Toroni, nn. 153–155
- 8076, 8416: gold plaques from Sindos, n. 83
- B 1: krater from Derveni, nn. 292, 796
- B 11: silver cup from Derveni, n. 462
- gilt terracotta appliqués with birds or eagles from Sedes, n. 120
- gilt terracotta appliqués with stars from Sedes, n. 735
- gold gorytus from Vergina, n. 120
- gold larnax from Vergina, nn. 273, 277, 328, 334, 657, 735
- gold tendril with spirals from Vergina, n. 265
- Tiflis Museum
- silver bowl with four bosses from the Achalgori Treasure, n. 311
- silver bowl from Vani, n. 309
- gold-sheet medallions, in the shape of Achaemenid phialai, from the Achalgori Treasure, n. 67
- Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art
- 61.9: silver container, insert for a cup, n. 805
- 75.11: silver bowl, n. 570
- 76.15: silver cup, n. 302
- Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum
- 910×197.16; 916.1.576/578–580: bronze handles from Egypt, n. 664

Tübingen, Archaeological Institute Collection  
 5188/25: cast of a faience cup from Egypt, n. 624

Tunis, Bardo Museum  
 bronze statuette of Eros from Mahdia, n. 788

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum  
 19 (IX a 63): cameo, n. 545  
 V 2897: terracotta appliqués from Tarentum, n. 46

Volterra, Museo Etrusco  
 89: krater from Volterra, n. 342

Voronezh Museum  
 bronze hydria from Mastjugino, n. 162  
 silver phalerae from Voronezhskaja Staniza, n. 25

Washington, Bliss Collection  
 harnessed panther, n. 534

Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Collection  
 40.3: silver cup, n. 661

Witsen, N.C., Collection (formerly)  
 nn. 478, 743

Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum  
 H 4993: terracotta mold, n. 56

Yale University  
 1938.5174: stag pendant from Dura Europos, n. 61  
 1938.5190: stag pendant from Dura Europos, n. 61

Zurich, art market  
 bronze bowl from Iran, n. 565  
 terracotta appliqués from Tarentum, n. 42

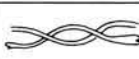
Zurich, Museum Rietberg  
 Gandharan sculpture, n. 494

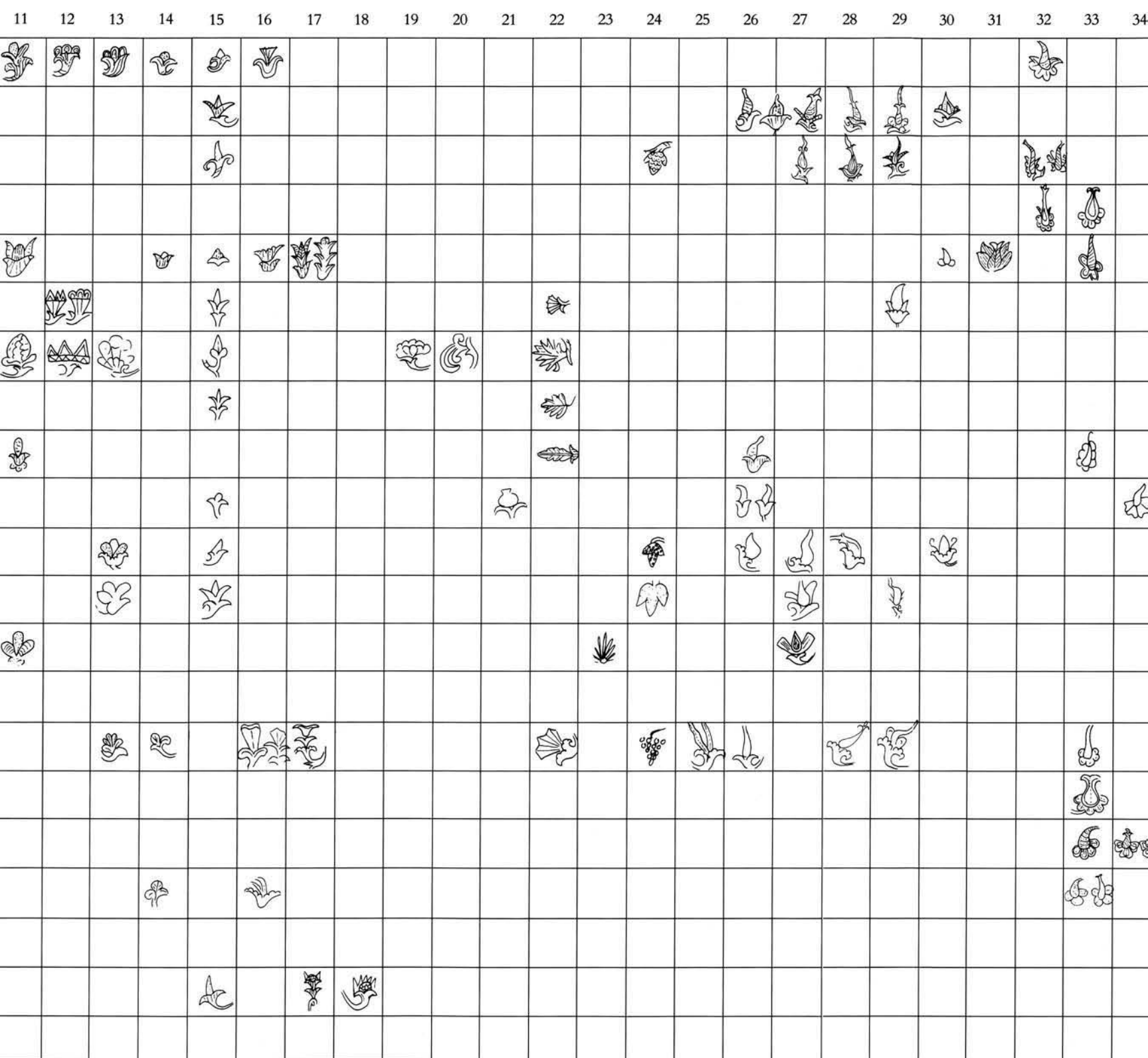


## CHART OF FLOWER TYPES

This chart provides an overall view of all the flower types found on the vessels from treasures I, II, and III as well as on some related pieces in other museum and private collections. Each horizontal section of the chart is devoted to the floral elements found on a single vessel, while each numbered vertical column represents a particular type of flower or calyx (similar floral elements have been grouped under a single heading). This detailed analysis allows for a closer study of the similarities and dissimilarities evident in this group of bowls and provides evidence of the varying styles of individual craftsmen within the limits of a more or less established decorative canon. For a further discussion of this repertoire, see pp. 26–37.

For the sake of comparison, profiles of the bowls in the Getty Museum collection that do not have complicated tendril friezes have been incorporated into the chart at the far left.

| Cat. Nos.    |                                                                                     |                            | Inscr.                                                                            |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|              |                                                                                     |                            |                                                                                   | 1                                                                                   | 2                                                                                   | 3                                                                                   | 4                                                                                  | 5                                                                                    | 6                                                                                     | 7                                                                                     | 8                                                                                     | 9                                                                                   | 10                                                                                    |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
| Early Group  |                                                                                     | 1                          |  |    |    |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |    |  |    |  |    |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | 10                         |  |    |    |                                                                                     |  |   |    |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |  |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | 4                          |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |  |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |    | 7                          | 5                                                                                 |    |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |    |    |    |                                                                                     |    |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | British Mus.<br>(fig. 19)  |                                                                                   |                                                                                     |    |    |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |    |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |    |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
| Middle Group |    | 18                         | 9                                                                                 |    |    |    |                                                                                    |    |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | Private coll.<br>(fig. 40) |                                                                                   |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |    |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |  |    |  |                                                                                       |  |  |
|              |                                                                                     | Hamburg Mus.<br>(fig. 18)  |                                                                                   |    |    |    |                                                                                    |    |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | Private coll.<br>(fig. 17) |                                                                                   |                                                                                     |   |   |                                                                                    |   |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |   |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | Art market I               |                                                                                   |                                                                                     |  |  |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
| Late Group   |                                                                                     |                            | 11                                                                                |  |  |  |                                                                                    |  |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |  | 6                          | 8                                                                                 |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     |                            | 66                                                                                |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |  |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     |                            | 68                                                                                |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     | Art market II              |                                                                                   |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |  |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |  |                                                                                     |  |                                                                                     |  |                                                                                     |  |
|              |  | 3                          | 13                                                                                |  |  |  | 3<br>•                                                                             | 13<br>•                                                                              |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     |                            | 14                                                                                |  |  |  |                                                                                    | 14<br>•                                                                              |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |  | 2                          | 15                                                                                |  |  |  | 2<br>•                                                                             | 15<br>•                                                                              |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |                                                                                     |                            | 74                                                                                |                                                                                     |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                    |                                                                                      |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |
|              |  | 12                         | 72                                                                                |  |                                                                                     |                                                                                     | 12<br>•                                                                            |                                                                                      |  |  |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                       |                                                                                     |  |



35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57

